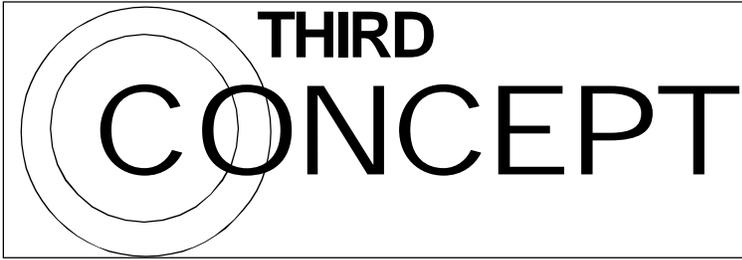


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## INSIDE

Editorial	
Government of U-Turns	5
<i>B.K.</i>	
Sino-Bangladesh Relations:	
Implication for India	7
<i>Dr. S.P. Vats &amp; Yogender S. Rangit</i>	
Reforming UN Security Council	14
<i>Deepika</i>	
Dr. Ambedkar's Critique of Caste	18
<i>K. Swamy</i>	
India and Climate Change	26
<i>Irfan-ul-Haq</i>	
The Vietnam War at Fifty	34
<i>Eddie J. Girdner</i>	
Perspectives on Urban Poverty in India	39
<i>N. Prasanna &amp; K. Radhika</i>	
Trends in Agriculture Growth in India	44
<i>Dr. P. Chennakrishnan &amp; S. Vijayalakshmi</i>	
Rural Financial Trends in India	51
<i>Dr. P.S.J. Michael Raj, S.Y. Margaret &amp; L.Mangai</i>	
Child Labour and Constitutional Provisions in India	55
<i>Gurjeet Singh</i>	



# Government of U-Turns

The BJP-led NDA government at the Centre has completed one year in office. The government came to power amid much fanfare and the tall promises made by its leadership had aroused huge expectations amongst the gullible masses. However, its inability to deliver on the promises led to the waning of the euphoria just only six months after its victory in national elections, especially when the BJP embarrassingly lost to Arvind Kejriwal's Aam Aadmi Party in state elections in Delhi. During its spell of one-year rule, the NDA government has taken almost U-turn on all major programmes initiated by the past UPA government by rechristening them with slight changes to make look them as of its own. The NDA government has cleared the proposal for FDI in retail, which was mooted by the previous UPA regime and vehemently opposed by the BJP at that juncture. The Modi government has also steered the Goods and Services Tax (GST) Bill, then mooted by UPA but was blocked by BJP-led states. The NDA government also takes credit for delivering Nuclear Power treaty, which was actually 'midwived' by the UPA.

The NDA government has not felt shy of taking credit for other initiatives like the decision to raise FDI in private insurance, the land swap treaty with Bangladesh, promise of increased allocation to MNREGA etc, which were, in fact, launched by UPA government. The NDA Prime Minister has visited to 18 countries in just one year thereby surpassing his UPA's predecessor's record of foreign visits in a year. However, little has been achieved in terms of this 'frenzied focus' on foreign visits. One opinion succinctly sums up this: "The dollar, as people are pointing out on twitter in a caustic reminder of another Modi jumla, is on an escalator and the Rupee is on ventilator. The GDP numbers, after some jugglery, haven't moved from wherever they were earlier.

Undoubtedly, the NDA government has deliberately changed the statistical base year for national income accounts to juggle with gross domestic product (GDP) numbers to project the GDP growth rate in better light; nonetheless, a different story on ground emerges from measures of industrial production, sentiment among business leaders and bank lending trends etc. The NDA government is backtracking on many issues that it had opposed earlier. A crisis of distress is already brewing up in agricultural sector and rural India for which the government seemingly has no immediate solution. Manufacturing and industrial growth is just not taking off. The most blatant U-turn has been the new Land Acquisition Ordinance that it has pushed through thrice after having supported the 2013 Bill. The expediency shown by the government in handing over real estate to foreign and domestic corporates for profit maximisation is driving the government's agenda at the expense of poor peasants and working class. An unprecedented accumulation of inventories has been reported by big corporate houses. There is sharp fall in employment. The relentless rise in the prices of all essential commodities and successive big hikes in the prices of fuel have proved instrumental in imposing severe hardships on the livelihood of poor people, especially in rural areas. A way is being paved for crony capitalism by opening up precious mineral resources for private profit along with ambitious targets of the privatisation of the public sector.

The popular schemes like Make in India, Digital India, Swachh Bharat, Jan Dhan Yojana etc have not recorded even incremental progress and have remained just seductive slogans. It has been reported that measures like slashing of social sector allocations on public health, delayed MNREGA payments, allowing the Food Security Act to remain comatose etc have not only disillusioned the masses, especially the poor, but have also made the middle-class feel short-charged. The promise to recover black money within 100 days was subsequently revealed to be mere jumla or electoral rhetoric. The frequent U-Turns taken by the NDA government have spurred one expert to observe that the NDA has, "given us another year of UPA. From Congress mukt (free) Bharat in 2014, we now have a Congress yukt (containing) government. Another expert laments that the NDA Prime Minister seems to be amending the saying of the French King Louis XV, "After me, the deluge, to be read as: "Before me, the void: After me, the deluge.

— BK



# Sino-Bangladesh Relations: Implication for India

Dr. S.P. Vats\* & Yogender S. Rangji\*\*

*[China- Bangladesh relations have moved ahead steadily in spite of profound changes in the domestic politics of both countries and major international developments during the last three decades. China has emerged as a reliable partner of Bangladesh, extending economic, military and diplomatic support.]*

**B**angladesh was born after the partition of Pakistan in 1971, but China withheld its recognition to its statehood for quite a long time. China exercised its Veto in the UN Security Council to block Bangladesh's entry into the United Nations in 1972. Bangladesh established diplomatic relations with China on October 4, 1975 and Bangladesh celebrated the 25th anniversary on October 4, 2000 of its relationship with China with the launch of a commemorative postal stamp.

At present, both the countries have evolved not only diplomatic relationship but also a trusted friendship. The bilateral cooperation encompasses economic, military, education culture, science and technology ties between them. In the words of former Chinese defense minister Liang Guanglie "strengthening and developing a friendly cooperation with Bangladesh is the established policy of the Chinese government."<sup>1</sup>

In the context of the emerging global market, China's foremost economic objectives are: access to raw materials, commodities, natural resources and admittance of Chinese goods to South Asian market for expanding its influence in the region. However, China's support for South Asian smaller countries has demonstrated the fact that gaining access to market and natural resources is not the only reason behind Beijing's South Asia policy in fact china also wants to limit Indian 'great power status' in the region.

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This paper intends to analyze the growing Sino-Bangladesh relations, their significance for both countries, as well as possible implications for India.

## Diplomatic Relations

Diplomatic relations between China and Bangladesh were established in 1975. After the assassination of Sheikh Mujib in a military coup, China officially recognized Bangladesh on October 4, 1975.<sup>2</sup> In the aftermath of Sheikh Mujib's assassination, Zia-Ur-Rahman became the President of Bangladesh. He established the Bangladesh National Party (BNP). Zia-Ur-Rahman as a major and prominent leader in the Bangladesh army had a pronounced anti- India bias and during his tenure, Indo-Bangladesh relations were quite frigid.

Therefore, under the leadership of general Zia the political pendulum swung more towards the right and effect on foreign policy was to move away from the Indo-Soviet axis in order to consolidate the ties to the source of support in the West. Such a policy shift was inevitable.

Thus by the end of seventies, Bangladesh foreign policy was no longer hostage to the dictates of socialism or secularism or even to the whims of nationalistic favor as was evident in the immediate post-independence years.<sup>3</sup> During 1977, Beijing supported Dhaka on the issue of Ganga River water sharing with India.

In March, 1978 Vice Premier Li Xiannian, during his visit at Bangladesh, signed the agreement of cooperation in economy, science and technology. The then President of Bangladesh, Hussain

Mohammad Ershad attached great importance to the development of Bangladesh's relations with China and paid five visits to China during his nine years tenure. During his talks and meetings with Chinese leadership, Ershad said the relations between China and Bangladesh had most solid foundation since both the countries enjoyed common targets and interests.

The Chinese side stressed that the Sino- Bangladesh relationship were based on mutual trust and mutual support. China appreciated Bangladesh's principled stand on adhering to "One-China" policy and having no official ties with Taiwan. Both the countries successively signed the agreement of cooperation in science and technology and the agreement of establishing meeting system between officials of the two Foreign Ministers. During the visit of Chinese Premier Li Peng in March 1986 both sides signed the agreement on mutual exemption of visa and the agreement of trade.<sup>4</sup>

During her first tenure as Bangladeshi Prime Minister (1991-95), Khaleda Zia reaffirmed her commitment to continue the pace of optimistic sojourn with Beijing. When Khaleda Zia visited Beijing in June 1991 (and later in 1995), then Chinese Premier, Li Peng, in his welcome address to the visiting dignitary remarked that China attached great importance to the development of its relation with Bangladesh and such relation would not be effected by any change in the international relations.<sup>5</sup>

In June 1996, the Awami League won the parliament election and Sheikh Hasina became Prime Minister. After coming into power, the Awami League paid importance to the friendly ties with China and the Sino- Bangladesh relations continued to develop stably. In September 1996, Prime Minister Sheikh Hashina paid an official goodwill visit to China. The Prime Minister expressed gratitude to China for its assistance to Bangladesh and her willingness to learn successful experience from China in developing national economy.

During this visit, two countries signed the agreements on encouraging and protecting investment, avoidance of double taxation and prevention of tax evasion.<sup>6</sup>

Khaleda Zia became the Prime Minister of Bangladesh for the third term in 2002. During this phase Bangladesh government adopted 'Look East' policy to explore and use the potentialities of its neighboring eastern countries. By virtue of this policy Bangladesh emphasized stronger Dhaka-Beijing relations for opening up new dimensions of cooperation.

Chinese Premier, Zhu Rongji visited Bangladesh in early 2002, the blueprint for refreshing Dhaka's 'Look East' policy was sealed as the two countries signed the agreement on economic and technical cooperation.

In a reciprocal gesture, when Khaleda Zia visited Beijing in December 2002, both countries highlighting that there were no obstacles in the smooth development of ties, reiterated the policy of attaching high importance to each other for the ultimate purpose of consolidating mutual bonds that had been nurtured between Dhaka and Beijing since 1976. This visit was very significant for the following reasons:

- I Khaleda Zia met almost all the principal government officials and party leaders of China.
- II Three treaties and a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) were signed on military, economy and technology cooperation between the two countries.
- III China promised to give additional 110 million Yuan with previously sanctioned 50 million Yuan interest free loan for building the 6th Bangladesh-China friendship bridge on the Dholessori River.
- IV China declared 24 million US dollar as grants for Bangladesh which it previously gave as interest- free loan to build an international conference centre at Dhaka.
- V A treaty was signed to facilitate joint ventures in ceramic and tannery industries, and China pledged support for Bangladesh's agriculture and tourism sector.<sup>7</sup>

Hu Jintao, the then General Secretary of the Communist Party of China, attested the surging tide of Dhaka-Beijing relations, at the end of his meeting

with Khaleda Zia, he said “As friendly and close neighbors, the people of China and Bangladesh have traditional friendship. The two countries enjoy mutual trust political and mutual benefit economically and extensive cooperation in all fields. China-Bangladesh ties are characterized by mutual respect, understanding, support and close cooperation.”<sup>8</sup>

The year 2005 was celebrated as China- Bangladesh friendship year. In April 2005, the Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao conducted a state visit to Dhaka, to mark the 30th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic ties between the two countries. While holding talks with his Bangladesh counterpart Khaleda Zia, Jiabao said “China and Bangladesh have no big difference, only friendship. Friendly Sino-Bangladesh relations are in the fundamental interests of the peoples of the two countries and conducive to regional peace and development.”<sup>9</sup>

In 2010 Sheikh Hasina visited China. Bangladesh asked Chinese assistance in constructing a highway passing through Myanmar to Yunnan province of China. A rail network passing through the same area has also been proposed and Bangladesh went out of the way to pursue China to further develop and use the Chittagong Port and develop a deep sea Port at Sonadia Island.<sup>10</sup>

### **Economic Relations**

Economic rise of China in the past three decades as well as Bangladesh’s steady economic growth since the early 1990 have resulted in better trade ties between the two counties.<sup>11</sup> Since Bangladesh achieved independence seceding from Pakistan in 1971, India has been its major trading partner. But since 2002 China’s trade with Bangladesh has increased many times over, surpassing that of India.<sup>12</sup>

At present China is the largest trading partner of Bangladesh. In 2002 Bangladesh’s import from

China was worth 64.2 million USD while its export was worth 19 million USD. In 2004, Bangladesh’s trade volume amounted to 1.96 billion USD, an increase of 43.5% from the previous year, and China’s export to Bangladesh stood at 1.9 billion USD, up 42.8% from 2003. Chinese import from Bangladesh totaled 57.01% million USD, an increase of 70.7%.

In 2005 China emerged as the number one import source for Bangladesh, overtaking India for the first time. While Bangladesh’s import from China amounted to 495.5 million USD during the 2005-06 fiscal year, imports from India amounted to 416.6 million USD. In contrast during the 2005-06 fiscal year, Bangladesh’s import from India amounted to 1.9 billion USD while its import from China amounted to 1.52 billion USD.<sup>13</sup>

In 2006-07, Bangladesh’s imports from China were 3 billion USD and its exports to China amounted to 200 million USD. In order to bridge this huge trade gap China has not only provided economic aid to Bangladesh but also signed the Asia-Pacific Free Trade Agreement (AFTA) to remove tariff barriers from commodities imported from Bangladesh.<sup>14</sup> Beijing has offered duty- free access to 4721 Bangladeshi products to address the growing trade imbalance.<sup>15</sup>

In 2010, China-Bangladesh bilateral trade amounted to 7 billion USD. China has also taken the initiative to develop natural gas resources and nuclear power plants in Bangladesh. Bangladesh too, has offered to set up a Special Economic Zone for China. The agreement on economic and technical cooperation and the framework agreement on a concessional loan provided by China to Bangladesh are two other significant treaties signed by the two nations.<sup>16</sup> In 2012, Bangladesh-China trade amounted to 8 billion USD.<sup>17</sup>

**TABLE**

### **CHINA’S BIG PROJECTS IN BANGLADESH**

Project	Facilitate Trade	Facilitate Military	Income Potential for China	Chinese Worker or Materials

Chittagong Deep Seaport	Yes	Yes	High	Yes
Sonadia Deep Seaport (Proposed)	Yes	Yes	High	Unknown
Dhaka Chittagong National Highway Upgrade Project	Potentially	Potentially	Medium	Yes
Multiple ‘Bangladesh China Friendship Bridge Projects	No	No	Low	Yes
Fertilizer Factory in Shahjalal	No	No	Medium	Yes
Bangabandhu International Conference Centre	No	No	Low	Yes

The Chittagong Port directly borders Northeast India and like the Hambantota Deep Seaport in Sri Lanka has raised suspicions in India that China is trying to encircle India and increase its ability to project military power into the region. Like the Hambantota Deep Seaport, these suspicions can neither be confirmed nor rejected. China has markedly increased its trade with Bangladesh and has a vested economic interest in going further for commercial access to Bangladesh markets. Additionally, Bangladesh’s President has publically stated that the port is intended solely for commercial purpose.

The six so-called ‘Friendship Bridges’ China has built throughout Bangladesh do not seem to offer much economic utility to China. China funded these bridges to celebrate improved diplomatic relations with Bangladesh. Chinese state media said that their construction is to expand the people-to-people contact between China and Bangladesh.<sup>18</sup>

### **Military Cooperation**

China currently plays a vital role in Bangladesh’s security. In 2002, China and Bangladesh signed an important defence agreement to meet Bangladesh’s defence requirement. It was the first agreement signed by Bangladesh with any country. It provided a comprehensive framework for cooperation in training, maintenance and some area of production in defence.<sup>19</sup>

China has emerged as a major supplier of arms to the Bangladeshi armed forces. In 2006, China

supplied 65 artillery gun and 114 missile and related system. Most of the tanks (T-59, T-62, T-69 and T-79), a large number of armored personnel carriers (APCs), artillery pieces and small arms and personnel weapons in the Bangladesh Army are of Chinese origin.

The Bangladeshi Navy is largely made up of Chinese-origin platforms. Its Navy’s frigates, boats and patrol crafts like 053-H1 Jianghu I class frigates with 4xHY2 missile, Huang Feng class missile boats, Type-024 missile boats, Huchuan and P4 class torpedo boats, Hainan class sub chasers, Shanghai class gun boats and Yuchin class LCUs are also supplied by China.<sup>20</sup>

In 2008, Bangladesh set up an anti-ship missile launch pad near the Chittagong Port with assistance from China. The maiden missile test was performed on May 12, 2008 with active participation of Chinese experts. It successfully test-fired anti-ship missile C-802A with a strike range of 120 km from frigate BNS Osman near Kutubdia Island in the Bay of Bengal. BNS Osman, which was commissioned in 1989, is a 1500 ton Chinese built Jianghu class frigate. The C-802 a missile is a modified version of Chinese Ying Ji-802.<sup>21</sup>

China began supplying fighter aircraft to the Bangladesh Air Force in 1977 and at present all the combat aircraft of Bangladeshi Air Force are Chinese. In short China has forged Bangladesh into a military equipment client state like Pakistan.<sup>22</sup>

China and Bangladesh pledged to strengthen military ties during a meeting between Chinese Defence

Minister Chang Wanguan and Chief of Army Staff of the Bangladesh Army Iqbal Karim Bhuiyan. Chang Wanguan said, "The Chinese military is willing to strengthen cooperation in all fields and all levels with the Bangladeshi side as part of efforts for the two countries' common development as well as safeguarding regional peace and stability."<sup>23</sup>

### **Implications for India**

Bangladesh is surrounded by India almost entirely on three sides except for a small but significant border of 172 miles with Myanmar in the southeast. This border is contiguous with Myanmar state of Rakhine (old Arakan). The Bay of Bengal, with shared coastline with India and Myanmar, bounds the south. Significantly, one of the strategic Indian marine outposts, the Andaman & Nicobar Islands that is developing to be an important military base is not very far from Bangladesh. It is only about 300 miles south of Bangladesh's prime seaport of Chittagong.

And in the north, Bangladesh is separated from Nepal and Bhutan by a strip of Indian territory, famously known as Shiliguri Corridor, only about 12 miles at its narrowest point. One has to pay particular attention to this geo-strategic real estate that is considered to be a strategic vulnerability to Indian national integration. The Shiliguri Corridor is a crucial determinant of Bangladesh's importance in regional geo-strategy. This particular strategic constraint of India also plays a very significant role in the national security of both India and Bangladesh.

The Shiliguri Corridor is regarded as a very sensitive strategic area for India, it being the only land connection with the insurgency-affected Northeast region of India, known as the Seven Sisters. Should this land corridor be blocked by hostile action, either by internal or external elements, India would find itself cut off from its strategic Northeast.

The only alternative to offset the constraint is to have a strategic corridor through Bangladesh. The importance of such an alternative route first dawned on Indian strategists during the 1962 Sino-Indian war. China threatened to cut off India's Line of Communication in the Seven Sisters, particularly in

NEFA (North East Frontier Agency, now renamed Arunachal Pradesh). Thus, Indian strategists are well aware of the fact that China is capable of cutting off the vital communication line between the Northeastern Seven Sisters and rest of the Indian Union.

One must note the geographic disposition of the Indian state of Sikkim, once a disputed territory between two Asian giants-India and China since the former annexed the small Himalayan kingdom in 1975. Sikkim, however, provides easier access to India from Tibet (China) and the other way round. The most important access from India to China is through Nathu La and along Hatungla Ridge. Metal roads do connect Kolkata port with the Nathu La Pass. The same route could also provide access for Bangladesh through Indian territory.

### **Strategic Importance of Bangladesh**

It is pertinent to note the following to understand the importance of Bangladesh in Indian Sub-Continent

- Bangladesh's location is a strategic wedge between mainland India and Northeastern seven states of the Indian Union. Each of these states is land-locked and has shorter route to the sea through Bangladesh. Currently, Kolkata port is used by these states for both domestic and imported cargo.
- The navigable rivers in India's Northeast that could connect West Bengal or Orissa ports pass through Bangladesh.
- The only entry to and exit from the Northeastern region of India is through the Shiliguri Corridor that is close to the Chinese border and within striking distance of Bangladesh. The Shiliguri Corridor is the most sensitive 'choke point' for the Indian Union.
- Most of the Northeastern states of India are virtually under siege where decades-old insurgencies are raging unabated, particularly in Assam, Tripura, and Nagaland. These states are yet to be fully integrated with the Indian Union.

- Arunachal Pradesh (formerly NEFA), still disputed between China and India, is within close proximity of Bangladesh.
- Bangladesh provides easy land access to Southeast Asian countries that are important for India's Look East policy.

The Chinese approach of systematically nurturing and promoting diplomatic linkages with Bangladesh provides it with a number of strategic advantages against India. China's increasing entanglements in South Asia and especially in Bangladesh is serious security concern for India. China sees its foothold in Bangladesh as a part of its quest to establish its regional power profile, and as a means to challenge India in its own South Asia backyard.<sup>24</sup>

Chinese presence in Chittagong has got enough potential to endanger long term Indian security interest. China is adopting the time tested East Indian company route to gain access to Chittagong port. It has promised development of the port for enhanced trade. Perched here it should be easy for China to monitor Indian missile test at Chandipur at sea near Balasore (on the Indian east coast). Also keep tabs on naval activity in the Andaman Nicobar Islands in the Bay of Bengal by inter - linking its electronic listening systems at Coco Island (Myanmar) and the staging/listening systems deployed on the Bangladesh soil.

PLA Navy can be expected to pamper and pressurize Bangladesh Navy to open its facilities for use as a countervailing force against the Indian Navy. There is a talk of China getting military basing rights in the Chittagong belt. When this promise is fulfilled, China stands to acquire the ability to monitor army deployment in Northeast India. Additionally, several strategic Indian Air Force bases at Bagdogra, Hastimara and Tezpur etc. and Indian military aircraft deployed in the region will come under the Bangladesh-China electronic and radar surveillance network.<sup>25</sup>

Chittagong is already serving as delivery port for Chinese arms meant for various Indian insurgent

groups particularly, the United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) which has sanctuaries in Bangladesh. ULFA has reportedly shifted its bases to China though its leadership continues to nurture business interests set up in Dhaka with the patronage of ISI and Bangladesh intelligence over two three decade ago.

China has maintained contacts with ULFA in Dhaka. It is also in touch with another Northeast Indian outfit, National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN), which is fighting for independence in the Indian state of Nagaland. China has been allowing them to procure arms, ammunition and communication equipment from Yuman.<sup>26</sup>

Beijing's pouring in of money for infrastructural developments such as sea port, railways and roadways development and its assistance to modernize military forces and airfields in other countries in South Asia in general and Bangladesh in particular has been seen by India as the Middle kingdom's ambitious design of furthering its geopolitical influence called "String of Pearls Strategy". It is aimed at Chinese policy of encircling India. Establishing its strong hold on Pakistan and Bangladesh, Indian analysts believe that China has been pursuing a strategy of simultaneous containment of and engagement with India.<sup>27</sup>

## Conclusion

India has to accept the fact that China once hostile to Bangladesh has gained a ground in the same country. Despite its discomfiture over the growing presence of China across South Asia, particularly in Bangladesh, there is no way out for India than to accept the reality. India would all the time face the challenge in Bangladesh from China as an equal competitor. India has been attributed to its policy lapses in the region. India should accord the highest priority in its foreign policy to relations with its neighbors.

India sometimes appears to be lethargic in its approach to rise to the occasion when an avenue opens in the neighborhood. For example, Sri Lanka

first offered the Hambantota Port development project to India and China figured only as a second option. But now it has gone to China. In case of Bangladesh, India should take up the matters seriously like the construction of an advanced air base with China's help in Sonadia Island near Cox Bazar. From strategic point of view, this area has greatest importance for India.

It is very opportune time for India to realize and acknowledge the veracity of the sensitive fact that Bangladesh has favored China vis-à-vis India because of the negative psychological impact that India's geographical mass, democratic political setting, economic stability and some diplomatic miscalculations have imprinted on its mindset.

Besides a plethora of bilateral trepidations including the issues of water sharing, territorial dispute, informal trade, cross border movement of refugees and insurgents etc. have further vitiated the South Asian milieu. New Delhi's earnest endeavors to harmonize regional and bilateral trade and investment policies for generating goodwill and winning the confidence of smaller and vulnerable neighbors like Bangladesh will yield the optimum results.

West Bengal government's objection to a deal on the sharing of river waters of Teesta and Feni with Bangladesh might retard the acceleration of India-Bangladesh relations and once more turn the table in favors of China. It is high time that the Indian government should implement the Gujral Doctrine in its true spirit.

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# Reforming UN Security Council

Deepika\*

*[While making a cogent case for envisaging structural reforms in the UN Security Council, the author briefly examines the ongoing power tussle between the claimants and aspirants for permanent membership of the Council along with their respective claims and counter claims and the hitherto strategy of the permanent five members of the Council to bar new entrants. Ed.]*

United Nations (UN) was set up on 24 October 1945 in San Francisco conference<sup>1</sup> and from that time onwards it has been an important part of world politics. At that time, the world was under the tension of war and unrest, so the UN was established to remove war and maintain peace and security. Security Council, the most powerful organ of United Nations, was responsible for this by two methods- first, peacefully and second, forcefully.

Chapter 6th of the UN Charter deals with the 'peaceful' settlement of disputes while chapter 7th deals with 'Action' with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace and acts of aggression.<sup>2</sup> Security Council had 11 member states – 5 permanent and 6 non-permanent member states.

In the beginning, there were 51 members of the United Nations and 5 permanent member countries enjoyed the veto right. During the Cold War period, U.S.S.R and U.S.A used veto for their respective bloc's interests. The frequent use of veto power usually drew flak from other countries.

In the post-Cold War period, there have been demand for reforming the Security Council and this demand is being echoed in international forums like African Union (AU), G-4 (comprising Brazil, Germany, India, Japan), and some other developing countries. This demand for reforming UN Security Council entails following key points:

1. Membership of the United Nations has increased from 51 nations in 1945 to over 194

nations at present, while UN Security Council still has five permanent members.

2. The distribution of permanent membership of the UN Security Council is not according to democratic process and proper representation at continental level.
3. The agenda of the UN at the time its establishment was basically designed to maintain world peace and security but today there have emerged multi-dimensional issues like – human rights, gender issues, international terrorism, environmentalism, regional politics etc.
4. Presently, emergence of regional blocs like ASEAN, E.U, SAARC, IBSA, BRICS, SCO etc have started wielding influence on the UN.

These and related developments reiterate the urgency for reforming the UN Security Council. Africa and Latin America are not represented in the permanent members of the UN Security Council and their representation in the Council inclusion of these regions, as former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan said, would make Council certainly look different from the organization we have today.<sup>3</sup> The case to reform Security Council is discussed in the light of following points:<sup>4</sup>

1. Abolition of veto power.
2. Proposal for semi-permanent seats.
3. Redistribution of existing permanent seats.
4. Addition of new permanent members.
5. Addition of new non-permanent seats.

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\* JRD Awardee (Political Science) Delhi.

6. About the procedure of room-meetings by permanent 5.

### Proposals for Reform

In 1997, Malaysian ambassador to the UN, Razali Ismaili, advanced the proposal for redesigning the structure of permanent membership of the UN Security Council. This proposal, which came to known as the Razali Plan, envisaged five new permanent seats in Council, two for industrialized countries and one for each of the main- third world

regions of Africa, Asia and Latin America including the Caribbean. The plan also laid down that these three regions should be allocated an additional non-permanent seat. But no vote was ever taken on the Razali Plan.<sup>5</sup>

Failure of Razali Plan led the then UN Secretary General Kofi Annan to appoint a High Level Panel to examine the whole gamut of UN reforms. The panel presented its report in two Models- 'A' and 'B'.<sup>6</sup>

#### Model 'A' suggested the following structure:

Regional area	Number of states	Permanent seat	Proposed new permanent seat	Proposed two years seats	Total
Africa	53	0	2	4	6
Asia and Pacific	56	1	2	3	6
Europe	47	3	1	2	6
America	35	1	1	4	6
Total	191	5	6	13	24

#### Modal 'B' envisaged the following structure:

Regional area	Number of states	Permanent seat	Proposed four year renewable seat	Proposed two year seats	Total
Africa	53	0	2	4	6
Asia and Pacific	56	1	2	3	6
Europe	47	1	2	3	6
America	35	1	2	3	6
Total	191	5	8	11	24

Owing to various reasons, both these models failed to garner support from regional groupings like AU, G-4 and Coffee Club (a movement for 'Uniting for Consensus' nicknamed as the Coffee Club). Undoubtedly, the number of seats for non-permanent members in the UN Security Council

has been increased; nonetheless, the demand for further reforming the Council is gaining momentum. The current Security Council seat distribution with permanent and non-permanent members is as follow:-<sup>7</sup>

#### United Nation Security Council Non- Permanent members

From-1 Jan 2013 – 31 Dec 2014

S. No	Country	Regional Bloc	Permanent represent
1.	Argentina	Latin America and Caribbean	T.B.C
2.	Australia	Western Europe and other	T.B.C
3.	Rwanda	Africa	T.B.C

4.	Luxembourg	Western Europe and other	T.B.C
5.	South Korea	Asia	T.B.C
6.	Azerbaijan	Eastern Europe	Agshin Mediyev
7.	Guatemala	Latin America and Caribbean	Gent Rosenthal
8.	Morocco	Africa and Arab Group	Mohammed Loulichki
9.	Pakistan	Asia	Masood Khan
10.	Togo	Africa	Kodjo Mehon

**United Nation Security Council Permanent members**

S. No.	Country	Current Representatative
1.	China	Li Baodong
2.	France	General Araud
3.	Russia	Vitaly Churkin
4.	United Kingdom	Sir Mark Lyall Grant
5.	United States of America	Susan Rice

**African Union (AU) and UN Security Council**

The African continent has no permanent seat in the Council, while Europe has two (United Kingdom and France). This is regarded as injustice for the African continent. African countries demand for the accurate and democratic representation of their continent in the Council. Egypt, Nigeria and South Africa want permanent seat in Security Council on continental basis.<sup>8</sup>

The African states claim for permanent and non-permanent seats to rectify the historical injustice done to them because Africa is the second largest and second most- populous continent.<sup>9</sup> Africa has the largest grouping in UN after Asia.

Viewed in a broad perspective, about 60% of the agenda of the Security Council is usually related to African states. The African Union should be responsible for the selection of Africa’s share in UN. Having rejected both the suggestions made by high level panel, AU wants veto right for new permanent

members and suggests 6 new permanent members with veto and five additional non-permanent members in Security Council. Thus total number of the council would be 26.<sup>10</sup>

On the other hand, G-4 also demands reform in the UN Security Council but both AU and G-4 are not on same platform on this issue. They are not united in their demands and this is a weak point for both. There is a need for the AU to be more active in this regard so that it can garner 2/3 support in the General Assembly for its demands. It should also discuss with G-4 and other countries through bilateral/multilateral campaigns in and outside Africa to garner support in its favour.

**G-4 and UN Security Council**

G-4 is a group of four countries (India, Brazil, Japan and Germany).<sup>11</sup> They also demand permanent membership in Security Council with veto- power. The G-4 countries are not from the same continent. Brazil is from South America, Germany belongs to Europe, and India and Japan are from Asia. This is a bloc, having common mission to achieve the permanent seat.

Some big powers support half members of this group and others support the second half of members. U.S.A supports Japan’s case while China neglects Japan on the basis of political tensions. While Britain, France and Russia are supporting India’s candidature, but here visions of China and U.S.A are not clear.

Thus Permanent-5 countries have no unanimous thinking about G-4’s representation in Security Council. India stakes its claim on continental level, population, democracy, and its share in UN

peacekeeping operations. On the other hand, Brazil's demand is based on continent (South America), and Japan being an industrialized and developed nation and its share in United Nations' budget. Furthermore, Germany stakes its claim on the basis of its industrial might and its contributions to the UN.

The G-4 is calling for boosting of UN Security Council's membership from 15 to 25 with six new permanent without veto power.<sup>12</sup> On the other hand, it is opposed by Coffee Club, which does not want any type of permanent membership in the Security Council with veto. India's ambassador to the United Nations, Nirupam Sen, said at the General Assembly that a new category of permanent seats without veto would not balance the weight of existing permanent members.<sup>13</sup>

### **Coffee Club and UN Security Council**

On one side, G-4 and AU are trying to create balance in United Nation Security Council; on the other side, Coffee Club wants no permanent seat in Security Council with veto. Coffee Club members are reportedly motivated by regional politics. Italy is opposed to Germany, Pakistan to India, Mexico to Brazil and Argentina.<sup>14</sup> The members of this Club say that any permanent increase in Security Council will lead to discrimination and unrest in the world. Although, they do not neglect any type of reform in Security Council, they call for addition of 10 non-permanent members, and no permanent seats.

The draft co-sponsored by the Coffee Club for election of members for two years, as is the case of at present also envisages the possibility of re-election.<sup>15</sup> It is interesting to note that both group G-4 and Coffee Club are without permanent seat in Security Council.

### **Conclusion**

Different vision of global politics as is discernible from the politicking of G-4, AU, Coffee Club, Permanent-5 and the rest, makes it clear that international politics is the politics of power and struggle for power, as Hans J. Morgenthau said about power factor in world politics.

In the contemporary world, apart from Permanent-5, there are many powerful countries such as India (democracy) Japan (technology), Germany (industry) and a lot of others. The entire globe has undergone a massive transformation since the establishment of the United Nations. In 1945, the UN membership was 51, which has now crossed over 194 member states. But the UN Security Council is in the same form.

Change is inevitable and neither Permanent-5 nor Coffee Club can stop it from happening. Emerging and developing economies demand proper share in United Nation. The powerful countries can delay but not neglect. Present structure of the UN Security Council must be changed to enable it to shoulder its responsibility of maintaining world peace and security without any hindrance.

The Permanent-5 members have frequently used veto power for their respective narrow national interests thereby endangering world peace. The call for reforms in the Security Council aims at democratization of the structure of the Council with equal representation of all regions and interests in order to make it more responsive to the emergent crises and discharge its responsibilities without any hindrance. Apart from maintaining international peace and security, the Security Council is also called upon to address issues pertaining to human rights, women improvement, sustainable development, environment and terrorism. Finally to update UN Security Council there should be reform in it basically to increase permanent seats.<sup>16</sup>

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## Dr. Ambedkar’s Critique of Caste

K. Swamy\*

*[Among the core challenges facing contemporary India, the issues related to globalization seem to be the newest, while caste undoubtedly remains as the oldest. Caste, at the same time enjoys the dubious distinction of being the most perpetual and complex phenomenon which pervades every aspect of life. Caste as an exclusionary social phenomenon eclipsed the Indian society for ages and continues to affect its economy and polity even today so much so that it stood firm and strong in the way of substantive democratization of the Indian society.]*

The dominant social structures like caste and the consequential social exclusion are what B.R Ambedkar considered as the main constraint in the way to democracy. For democracy to survive it has to be deep-rooted in social democracy. To realize this dream of achieving the true sense of social democracy in India, Ambedkar gives a clear and loud call for the annihilation of caste through constitutional and democratic modes.

His constant stress on the total conversion of public sphere in colonial and Independent India distinguishes him from his contemporaries who were more concerned with the political freedom of the country from the British rule and its consolidation afterwards. Thus, for Ambedkar the struggle for political freedom would not cease to exist by merely getting independence but it will continue rather uninterrupted until independent India achieves equality and fraternity.

It is in this milieu, that the social democratic vision

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of Ambedkar becomes central to the post-Independence political discourse and practices in the country. Frozen in the century's old stratified structure of the Hindu social ladder, the core principles of equality and fraternity are yet to find a clear expression and a significant space in the political democracy. Societal living in this country is under the control of the birth-based distinctions which gives prosperity and respect to some and degraded life to many.

Given its exclusive agenda of economic growth and profit making, and insensitivities towards the fanatic discriminatory social structures, will it be possible for economic liberalization to plough through the arid land of caste hierarchies and rampant social exclusion, which were considered to be the key adversaries of the social democracy to sustain? Or would the neo-liberal economy further excavate disparities, caste orders and social marginalization by tightening caste-rope around the neck of the budding institutions of social democracy?

And what's the way perceived by Dr. Ambedkar to deal with the economic and social inequalities in the Hindu social order? Does he consider the capitalism as a weapon to deal with the unequal social setting of India? Or else is there any other way he proposed to deal with it? How can one understand the stand point of Dr. Ambedkar in understanding the globalization? These are the main research questions of this paper.

Descriptive research methods will be used along with the analytical methods and it is going to use the information or facts already available and analyze this to make critical evaluation of the material. The empirical evidences such as the collected data, observations will be analyzed both qualitatively and quantitatively. This study mostly concentrates on the issues related to the globalization and effects on the Dalits and the marginalized communities. To understand the impact of globalization on these marginalized sections will be a crucial task of this research.

Independent India opted for a mixed economy model of development and introduced the system of reservation for the downtrodden in public sector

jobs, educational institutions and policy making legislature bodies. There are constitutional provisions made to reduce the widening gap between the rich and poor/ upper castes and the lower castes.

The objectives of the preamble clearly enchants the goals of the Indian Constitution that to *all its citizens justice, social, economic and political* as well as *"equality of status and opportunity"*. Fundamental rights were guaranteed to all the citizens of the country and the directive principles of the state policy will make the Indian governments to achieve or strive for the welfare of its people by incorporating the social, economic and political democracy. The key characteristics of the Indian Constitution are:

- a. That the citizens, men and women equally, have the right to an adequate means of livelihood;
- b. The natural resources and ownership of the physical resources have to be distributed in a way that it serves the common good of the people.
- c. The economic system has to be operated in a way that the wealth will not be concentrated in some hands.

Thus an all-inclusive vision of development and an egalitarian social order underlined the basic spirit of the Constitution as well as the ambitious Five Year Planning projects. To convert the principles of the founding fathers of the Indian Republic, there were distinct provisions adapted in to the constitution. State positive discrimination policy is the most evident amongst them. It meant to do justice to the communities which were historically excluded. There were innumerable measures were taken at the policy level to achieve the dream of social democracy.

Whether these varied measures have been able to facilitate the growth of democracy in India or not, is a matter of contention. However, the integration of those particular measures in the Constitution is a vindication enough that the founding fathers of Independent India wanted to deepen the roots of social and economic democracy along with the political democracy.

The International Monetary Fund and World Bank's prescriptions of neo-liberal policy packages were adopted by the Narasimha Rao government in July 1991, with a projection to people that they were homegrown economic reforms, claiming that *there was no alternative*.

Neo-liberal market-economy is primarily intended to end the license raj system, import quotas removal or decrease in the import taxes, reduction of the tariff levels, liberalization of the inflow of foreign capital, industrial liberalization, opening of yet newer areas hitherto reserved for the public sector, tax concessions, widespread use of contracted/casual labour, sub-contracting work to the small scale sector, etc.

Dr. Ambedkar's vision of public policy assumes added importance in the wake of neo-liberal reforms in India, particularly after the structural adjustments plans which started in the year 1991. The neo-liberal market economy with the singular focus on economic growth and profit gaining suffocates the delicate fostering situation of social and economic democracy in India.

During the final stages of adoption of the Indian Constitution, Ambedkar made some remarkable insights into the substance of democracy. Ambedkar promulgated or gave three warnings, and firmly assumed giving note to them was critical to ensure for democratic institutions did not get disrupted by any means. The first warning was to abandon the means of revolution, even the Gandhian mode of Satyagraha. He says:

"If we wish to maintain democracy not merely in form, but also in fact, what must we do? The first thing in my judgment we must do is to hold fast to constitutional methods of achieving our social and economic objectives. It means we must abandon the bloody methods of revolution. It means that we must abandon the method of civil disobedience, non-cooperation and satyagraha."

"When there was no way left for constitutional methods for achieving economic and social objectives, there was a great deal of justification for unconstitutional methods. But where

constitutional methods are open, there can be no justification for these unconstitutional methods. These methods are nothing but the Grammar of Anarchy and the sooner they are abandoned, the better for us." (Dr. Ambedkar, 1949)

The second warning was made on the worship of hero. Regardless of how big the leader may be, Dr Ambedkar believed that worshipping of hero would definitely lead to the deterioration of democratic institutions and it would be an obstacle for smoothening of democratic process. The third and the most important caution he said was that India should not remain satisfied with the mere political democracy but has to thrive to achieve the social democracy as early as possible.

The continuous denial of social and economic democracy will become a threat to the existing political democracy. According to him the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity have to be the guiding principles of social democracy. Dr. Ambedkar says: "The formal framework of democracy was of no value in itself and would not be appropriate if there was no social democracy."<sup>1</sup> These three principles shouldn't be considered as separate items and have to go hand in hand.

Explaining the structure and composition of Indian society, Ambedkar says that "We must begin by acknowledging the fact that there is complete absence of two things in Indian Society. One of these is equality. On the social plane, we have in India a society based on the principle of graded inequality which we have a society in which there are some who have immense wealth as against many who live in abject poverty." (Dr. Ambedkar, 1949)

He continue to say on the importance of social and economic democracy along with the political democracy:

"On the 26th of January 1950, we are going to enter into a life of contradictions. In politics we will have equality and in social and economic life we will have inequality. In politics we will be recognizing the principle of one man one vote and one vote one value. In our social and economic life, we shall, by reason of our social and economic structure, continue

to deny the principle of one man one value. How long shall we continue to live this life of contradictions? How long shall we continue to deny equality in our social and economic life?

If we continue to deny it for long, we will do so only by putting our political democracy in peril. We must remove this contradiction at the earliest possible moment or else those who suffer from inequality will blow up the structure of political democracy which is Assembly has to laboriously built up ( Dr. Ambedkar, 1949.)

Dr. Ambedkar believed in the legitimate or constitutional way of democratic life. In his perception of Democracy he wants the Government to be responsible for bringing revolutionary changes in economic and social life of the people without bloodshed whereas Marxism believed in bloodshed against State. Dr. Ambedkar differed with Marx on the means of realizing the objectives and purposes entwined with socialism. He advocated democratic means and believed that though democratic means are slow but are far more enduring stable and permanent. (Wagh, Sandesh, 2011)

Ambedkar very strongly believed that Hinduism never promotes or acts towards the socialist causes. To him, Hinduism negates with the socialism as it advocates the *chaturvarna* system that divided the Hindu society into four *varnas* namely, *Brahmin*, *Kshatriya*, *Vaishya*, and *Shudra*. Caste system owes its origin from this *varna* system. Contesting argument of caste as the division of labor, Ambedkar pointed out that it was not merely a division of labor, but also a division of laborers.

According to him, “Civilized society undoubtedly needs division of labor .But in no civilized society is division of labor accompanied by this unnatural division of laborers into water-tight compartments. Caste system is not merely a division of laborers which is quite different from division of labor -it is a hierarchy in which the division of laborers is graded one above the other (BAWS, Vol.1, 2014.)

And this division is not based on the *spontaneity* or it’s not a *natural aptitude*. It’s not based on the capacities and competencies one acquires but on

the social status of the parents they are born to. It won’t permit an individual to change his occupation thus resulting in unemployment. He says that the social order which is prevalent in India is because of the caste and *varna* system and the socialists must deal with this problem if at all one wants to bring a successful revolution.

If the social revolution didn’t deal with the problem before hand, it would have to face that later. In his own words: “...turn in any direction you like, caste is the monster that crosses your path. You cannot have political reform and you cannot have economic reform, unless you kill this monster” (BAWS, Vol.1, 2014.)

To break this principle of division of laborers, he stresses that it’s not only important to have the political and economic reforms but prior to that, social reforms have to take place. Religion and power are interrelated and also “...religion, social status and property are all sources of power and authority, which one man has, to control the liberty of another. One is predominant at one stage; the other is predominant at another stage” (BAWS, Vol.1, 2014.)

He vehemently attacked the socialists who interpreted history from the economic point of view and who believed that the equalization of property is the only true reform and it must precede others. He says that socialists in India are in wrong notions that they want to bring the proletarian revolution to seize the power. For a revolution to take place in India the proletarians must be united. But the case here is that they are not divided only on the basis of class but also on the basis of caste lines.

In his words: “Can it be said that the proletariat of India, poor as it is, recognizes no distinctions except that of the rich and the poor? Can it be said that the poor in India recognize no such distinctions of caste or creed, high or low? If the fact is that they do, what unity of front can be expected from such a proletariat in its action against the rich? How can there be a revolution if the proletariat cannot present a united front? (BAWS, Vol.1, 1994.)

Dr. Ambedkar further adds: “If at all the socialist movement in India wants to bring a revolution, it

must recognize and realize that social reform is the fundamental. There is no escape from that for them. The social order prevalent in India is a matter which a Socialist must deal with, that unless he does so he cannot achieve his revolution and that if he does achieve it as a result of good fortune he will have to grapple with it if he wishes to realize his ideal, is a proposition which in my opinion is incontrovertible (BAWS, Vol.1, 2014.)

### **State Socialism and Democracy**

The theory of social development in India has been developed by the contributions of Ambedkar. Ambedkar's thoughts on state socialism are visible in his 'States and Minorities' memorandum which he submitted to the Constituent Assembly on behalf of the All India Scheduled Caste Federation in the year 1946. In this Ambedkar proposed nationalization of land, state ownership of the agriculture, collectivized methods of cultivation and more importantly the modified form of state socialism in the field of industry. The state will supply the capital for the cultivation.

Along with that the insurance also have to be nationalized so that state as a security will take care of him. The natural resources will be in the hands of the state. He says that for the rapid industrialization of the country one has to adopt the state socialism where it will work towards reducing the social and economic inequalities.

The private sector with private capital won't do this because it creates wealth inequalities and nothing else. To get rid of the problems like landless labor, unemployment, surplus idle labor in agriculture and low productivity, he chose the collective cultivation above the tenancy legislations and consolidation of holdings.

According to him, the proposed state socialism has two edges, one which works in the matters of economic issues and the second one in the matters of politics where the state socialism is included in the law of constitution so that it won't get amended or diluted. He continues to say that by placing the state socialism- an economic production and social structure under the law of constitution it may

override the principles of fundamental rights. But the connection between this two is real. Political democracy rests upon four premises:

- i. The individual is an end himself
- ii. Each and every individual got some inalienable guaranteed rights from the state.
- iii. That the individual shall not be required to relinquish any of his constitutional rights as a condition precedent to the receipt of a privilege
- iv. That the State shall not delegate powers to private persons to govern others
- v. The social economy which is based on private enterprise will disrupt the last two premises of democracy.

### **In this regard, Dr Ambedkar adds**

"If a person who is unemployed is offered a choice between a job of some sort, with some sort of wages, with no fixed hours of labor and with an interdict on joining a union and the exercise of his right to freedom of speech, association, religion, etc., can there be any doubt as to what his choice will be. How can it be otherwise? The fear of starvation, the fear of losing a house, the fear of losing savings if any, the fear of being compelled to take children away from school, the fear of having to be a burden on public charity, the fear of having to be burned or buried at public cost are factors too strong to permit a man to stand out for his Fundamental Rights. The unemployed are thus compelled to relinquish their Fundamental Rights for the sake of securing the privilege to work and to subsist" (BAWS, Vol.1, 2014.)

To safeguard the fundamental rights, liberty and pursuit of happiness of every citizen of India, the democratic governments have to limit the power of the legislature by imposing arbitrary restraints in political sphere. And to confine the more influential person from imposing arbitrary restraints on less powerful, the government has to restrain the powerful over the weak.

The other important proposition he makes to the state socialism is that of the state socialism without

abrogating the parliamentary democracy. The state socialism with the parliamentary democracy as its government has to be placed under the permanent law i.e. the constitutional law of the land.

In the parliamentary democracy, the majority in one election may favor the state socialism but the later may not; so they may undo the process of state socialism which was initiated. So there has to be a permanent law of the land. The non-permanency may lead the political democracy towards the dictatorship.

In this regard, Ambedkar has observed: “The problem, therefore, is to have State Socialism without Dictatorship, to have State Socialism with Parliamentary Democracy-The way out seems to be to retain Parliamentary Democracy and to prescribe State Socialism by the Law of the Constitution so that it will be beyond the reach of a Parliamentary majority to suspend, amend or abrogate it. It is only by this that one can achieve the triple object, namely, to establish socialism, retain Parliamentary Democracy and avoid Dictatorship” (BAWS, Vol.1, 2014.)

From the innumerable writings and speeches of Ambedkar one can extract five basic principles, from which justice can be bestowed on the society and these are as follow:

1. Instituting a Society where an individual will be mode of all social purposes.
2. Society grounded on equality, liberty and fraternity.
3. Establishing political, economic and social democracy.
4. Democracy through constitutional methods; and
5. Forming democracy by smashing the monopoly of upper strata on Political Power.

In the States and Minorities’ memorandum, Ambedkar made a point that all the citizens should be treated equally and no privileges will be given on the basis of birth and caste, creed, sex and religion. All the persons will be treated equally before the law and equal protection of law irrespective of their caste, creed, sex and religion.

The state (state socialism) has to guarantee every citizen liberty of conscience and free exercise of worship, association and propagation. State shouldn’t recognize any religion as its official religion. Adult suffrage to all eligible individuals should be granted without any discrimination. One-man-one-vote and one-vote-one-value is the principle of Ambedkar’s socialism.

No individual has to be disqualified on the basis of caste, creed, religion and sex. All the citizens have to get equal opportunities in accessing the public amenities and institutions. The Union government has to guarantee protection against persecution and internal disorder and violence. Forced labor and bonded labor has to be treated as a serious offence against the rights of any individual. No person shall be levied any tax or penalties based on his caste or any other social status.

To safeguard the fundamental rights, he suggested the remedies such as judicial protection against the executive tyranny, protection against the unequal treatment, protection against discrimination, protection against economic exploitation.

In order to the save the basic human rights and fundamental rights of the minorities and downtrodden, Ambedkar proposed some provisions as follow:

- i. Protection against communal executive where the minorities will get equal representation into the legislative and executive bodies.
- ii. Protection against social and official tyranny- there will be an officer called superintendent of minority affairs who prepares annual report on the treatment of minorities by the public and government and this report will be discussed in the Union and State legislatures.
- iii. Protection against social boycott- social boycott of any kind such as refusal to let or use or occupy any household or property, or do business with another person, abstaining from such social, professional or business relations, offence of threatening a boycott etc. will be considered as a cognizable offence.

The theoretical contours of Ambedkar's views on state socialism may be enumerated as:

- i. The prevailing socio-economic and political order is unjust and discriminatory in nature.
- ii. The philosophy of dominant Hindus and unethical social setting account for the delinquency of the established existing order.
- iii. The concept grounded on one man, one vote and one value, is attainable in State Socialism and parliamentary democracy.
- iv. This concept of state socialism has to be achieved only through the means of constitution only.
- v. To establish the social democracy there must be a revolutionary will.

His ultimate aim and desire to attain through the state socialism is to do away with the extreme inequalities in caste system. He strongly disagrees with the socialists who turn deaf towards the caste question. He says that "my social philosophy may be said to be enshrined in three words: Liberty, Equality and Fraternity."<sup>2</sup>

Ambedkar very strongly believed that if the social structure of India didn't change then the prevailing system will definitely collapse, and he said that if the democracy in India fails then the other alternative will be something of Communism. For him communism "is like a forest fire; it goes on burning and consuming anything and everything that comes in its way" (Jadhav, Narendra 2013.)

### **Globalization and Ambedkar**

Studying Ambedkar from a Globalization point of view, which is an extreme face of capitalism, is fundamentally a speculative study. His writings range from economy to the policy making and the economics of Hindu unequal social order, including planning and development, working of the capitalist system, welfare economics, state-centric development, and alternative economic framework. His works like 'States and Minorities', 'Small holdings in India and their remedies' and his Ph. D thesis 'The problem of the rupee' gives us a clear

glimpse his vision towards the economic system of the state.

Globalization is an extension of the capitalist market economic order, where the unrestrained, ungoverned functioning of the free markets exists. It has been opined: "It is basically premised on extreme individualism, competition as the prime mover of progress, and free market as its prototype. Pitching every individual thus in competition with the rest of the world, it follows the social Darwinist justification for inequality, exploitation and social injustice" (Jadhav, Narendra, 2013.)

Here in the era of denial, the state got restricted itself to mere facilitator rather than being welfare-centric. Its functions just got reduced to as a security provider, protecting the people from the internal and external disruptions. The state, according to the Constitution has to be a socialistic, secular, democratic state but the fundamental principles of the Constitution were left behind and the state is striving very hard to make profits to the haves.

This process of profit making of the haves has left the have-nots in a dire situation where everything was taken away by the state. The state which has to work as a guarantor of their rights lost faith on it, as it works as an extension of the unequal society. Dr. Ambedkar's ultimate aim and desire is to do away with the extreme inequalities of caste system through the state socialism.

With the rampant globalization and change in the unequal development model of economic development, his principles of liberty, equality and fraternity will be unachievable. In this scenario Dr. Ambedkar's ideas in the context of Globalization include the state socialist framework where the parliamentary democracy exists, key industries are under the public sector control, rigorous encouragement for the agriculture by governments' investment, protection for the marginalized against the social and economic discrimination in the form of affirmative action policy, and the development fruits to reach the downtrodden (Thorat, S.K, 2007.)

<i>Ambedkar's Policy Prescription</i>	<i>Policy Prescriptions of Globalization</i>
<i>State Socialism as Ideology</i>	<i>Neoliberalism as Ideology</i>
<i>Strong Interventionist State</i>	<i>Statelessness, Withdrawal of State</i>
<i>Protective Discrimination</i>	<i>The law of merit- a bluff</i>
<i>Democracy (Social and Economic)</i>	<i>Oligarchy</i>
<i>Equality, Brotherhood and Fraternity</i>	<i>Inequality Violence &amp; Atrocities against SC/STs</i>
<i>Social Inclusion</i>	<i>Social Exclusion</i>
<i>Brahmanism And Capitalism as two Enemies of Dalit-Bahujans</i>	<i>Further consolidated their positions in open Market Economy.</i>
<i>Principle of Moral Economy</i>	<i>corruptions, bribes, Economic crime, scams rampant</i>
<i>Role of Religion based on Morality in Governing the Society</i>	<i>End of Ideology, end of History and end of Religion</i>
<i>Nationalisation of Land for its Redistribution among the landless poor</i>	<i>Land Acquisitions by MNCs and TNCs on the name of SEZ</i>
<i>Water, Housing and electricity to be provided by state on minimum charges to the masses</i>	<i>Privatization of Water, electricity and pro-capitalist housing policies against masses</i>

Source- Unpublished Ph. D work “A Study of Impact of Globalization on the Socio-Economic Status of Neo-Buddhist Community in Akola District” of Kirtiraj D.C.

As against these elements of Dr. Ambedkar’s prescriptions for economic development model embedded with the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity, India opted for an economic development model which is excluding the marginalized and poor in nature. With its unheard nature towards the Dalits and the poor, it developed certain characteristics where it became friendlier to the rich and upper castes and cruel towards the deprived sections. The globalized Indian state became more interested in accumulation of capital and facilitation rather than providing the basic needs of the poor such as education, health care etc.

With this we can come to a conclusion that the cruel and visible outcomes of the globalization in hand one cannot say that Ambedkar would be the supporter of the laissez faire market. He would stand in opposition to the principles of the globalization.

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# India and Climate Change

Irfan-ul-Haq\*

*[Climate change, being one of the most visible environmental concerns of the 21st century, is likely to threaten all forms of life on earth. Apart from warmer summers and milder winters, climate change is accompanied by an increase in the frequency and intensity of heat waves. Climate change will alter natural ecological and physical systems that are an integral part of earth's life support system.]*

Climate change can be described as any significant long term change in the expected patterns of average weather of region or the whole earth over a significant period of time. It may take hundreds or millions of years for the climate change but the anthropogenic activities such as industrialization, urbanization, deforestation, agriculture etc lead to the emission of green house gases which increases the rate of climate change.<sup>1</sup>

Bulk of India's population, especially in rural areas, is directly dependent on climate sensitive sectors like agriculture, forests and fisheries and natural resources including water, biodiversity, mangroves, coastal zones, grasslands for their subsistence and livelihoods. According to the National Communication Report of India to the UNFCCC, climate change is likely to impact all the natural ecosystems as well as socio-economic systems of India.

India, like other developing nations, is facing the dual burden of climate change and globalization. India is highly vulnerable to the effects of climate change due to its location on the Himalayan-fed South Asian mega deltas. Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) in its Fourth Assessment Report highlights the threat posed to large areas of the Himalayan foothills due to the melting of glacial waters which may increase in the near future. Further, potential monsoonal changes and sea level rise around the low lying coastal areas threaten India's growing coastal metropolises.<sup>2</sup>

According to the latest scientific assessment, the earth's climate system has demonstrably changed on both global and regional scales since the preindustrial era. Further evidence shows that most of the warming (of 0.1°C per decade) observed over the last 50 years, is attributable to human activities. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) projects that the global mean temperature may increase between 1.4 and 5.8 degrees Celsius by 2100.

This unprecedented increase in the global mean temperature is expected to have severe impacts on the global hydrological system, ecosystems, sea level, crop production and related processes. The impact would be particularly severe in the tropical areas, which mainly consist of developing countries, including India.<sup>3</sup>

India needs to go a long way in solving its economic and social issues. More than a third of the population lives below the poverty line and the economic disparity between the rich and poor is increasing rapidly. There is an immediate need for the development of country in order to solve its major problems of poverty, unemployment and illiteracy, which form the basic elements of human development.

The only way forward towards a developed nation high on the human development index is through massive economic growth which can only be achieved through industrialization. The industrialization process mandates an increase in the greenhouse gas emissions. This would lead to a conflict between the goals of mitigating climate

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change and achieving economic development of the country. Thus, India has to find a fine balance between economic growth and reduction in emissions.

India signed United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) in 1993 as a 'non-Annex I' state, not taking on binding emissions-reduction targets. Within both the government and also the wider civil society, international emissions' caps are viewed as 'deepening the north-south divide' by capping India's emissions just as its development is taking off.

The Centre for Science and Environment (CSE), one of India's most prominent environmental groups supplying information and opinion to the media, has regularly used the term 'carbon colonialism' to describe current climate negotiations, arguing that efforts by developed countries to 'force India' to reduce its emissions are yet another attempt on the part of the developed world to stifle India's development.<sup>4</sup>

India ratified the Kyoto Protocol on August 26, 2002 and hosted the Eighth Conference of the Parties to the UNFCCC in October 2002 in Delhi. National Action Plan on Climate Change (NAPCC) provides a roadmap for India's climate change policy. The eight missions laid out by this plan include: National missions for solar energy, energy efficiency, sustainable habitat (public transport; building codes), water, Himalayan ecosystem, Green India (afforestation), sustainable agriculture, and strategic knowledge for climate change.

The plan is a positive step for combating global climate change.<sup>5</sup> There are a number of projects underway directly aimed at reducing greenhouse gas emissions, funded by the Global Environment Facility, although these relate to small projects largely on renewable energy sources such as biomass.

### **Projected Effects of Climate Change**

The average global temperature has risen by about 0.8°C above the preindustrial level. The projected hazards of continuing anthropogenic climate change include decreased crop yields, the disappearance

of mountain glaciers and snow packs, more extreme weather events such as floods, droughts and storms, increased coastal flooding, and species' extinction.

### ***Crop Yields***

Climate change is projected to reduce net cereal production in South Asian countries by 4 to 10 percent by 2100 under the most conservative scenario of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. Several studies have found a negative correlation between crop yields and poverty rates. Time series data from India for the period 1958-1994 indicate that increased yields lowered poverty almost 1 for 1.6

Household data in the 1983-1999 period suggested that agricultural productivity growth was responsible for at least four fifths of the 75% growth in real agricultural wages in that period. A recent survey of the literature on Indian economic growth concludes that "agricultural productivity would have to continue to increase for improving the living standards of the rural poor."<sup>7</sup>

### ***Glacier and Snowpack Decline***

The warming of planet has resulted into thinning and shrinking of glaciers all over the world. Himalayan Glaciers are likely to disappear altogether in twenty five years if the earth keeps warming at the current rate. Due to the absence of glaciers, rivers in the Indo- Gangetic plains will become much more seasonal which will threaten the rabi crop as well as domestic and industrial water supplies in the monsoon months. Up to half of the glacier decline has occurred as a result of upper atmospheric heating from the black carbon particles in the South Asian brown cloud.<sup>8</sup>

### ***Extreme Weather Events***

Extreme weather events are also predicted due to warmer climate. The period 1951- 2000, has witnessed an increase in the magnitude and frequency of high intensity rains in India and a decrease in the frequency of moderate rains.<sup>9</sup> The record rainfall and consequent flooding in Mumbai in July 2005 was an example of this. The concentration of rainfall in a few events will tend to

reduce groundwater recharge and accentuate droughts in water-stressed regions.

India is predicted to reach a state of water stress by 2025 in which per capita water availability falls below 1000 cubic meters per capita. An increase in cyclone intensity of 10-20% for 2-4 degrees of warming is predicted for South Asia and adjoining regions. Coastal areas like Orissa and Bengal are particularly affected areas due to cyclonic storms.

### ***Sea Level Rise***

Sea level has also been raised due to global warming because warmer water has greater volume. As per the recent study that takes into account both thermal expansion of the ocean and ice pack melt suggest that the likely range of the rise by 2100 is 0.8 to 2 meters<sup>10</sup> which will result into the permanent displacement of millions of people in coastal areas in India, about 3 million for a 1 meter rise and more than double that number for a 2 meter rise.

### **Species' Extinction**

As per the IPCC report, 30 to 40 percent of all species could go extinct due to temperature rise by another 2 to 3 degree Celsius. Extinction of species may result in a fundamental rearrangement of ecosystems which in turn will have adverse impact on agriculture.

### **Impact on Health**

Climate change can affect the human health in the following ways:

- Asthma and Respiratory Allergies
- Cancer
- Cardiovascular Disease and Stroke
- Mental Health and Stress Related Disorders
- Neurological Disorders and Vector Borne Diseases.

Due to the temperature rise in the warmer parts of the country heat waves may become more intense and long lasting that would result in increased

incidence of heat stroke and related diseases. Further, warmer climate makes air pollution more harmful which contributes to airborne diseases with greater potency. The spread of diseases such as Malaria are likely to increase due to increased dampness and water pollution accompanying floods.

Contaminated water and droughts may also lead to increased incidence of intestinal diseases like diarrhoea. On the other hand, warming in colder regions, during winter season and in minimum temperatures may reduce health risks associated with cold waves.

### **Migration**

Another area of impact of climate change can be discussed in the form of intensification of urban rural and interstate migration. Demographic changes are likely to reinforce this phenomenon: whereas all four southern states (Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka) have reached the replacement levels of fertility rates, many of the poorer states in the north such as Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan have high population growth rates. This would likely lead to increased migration from the latter set of states to the former.

Climate change can make the migration patterns more complicated. For example, rising sea levels may displace a part of the population currently living in the coastal zones.<sup>11</sup> Floods, droughts and frequent cyclones may also lead to increased migration. Climate related events may lead to massive migration from Bangladesh to India.

### **Poverty**

Climate change and poverty are interrelated. Climate change may impact poverty at two levels: it may increase the number of poor by impoverishing those with incomes just above the poverty line and the burden of some of the climate related extreme events may fall disproportionately on the poor. The proportion of the poor living below the poverty line may rise due to reduced incomes of farmers, many of whom may be living just above the poverty line. But it must be acknowledged that this effect may

also go the other way if the net effect of climate change is to increase rather than reduce agricultural productivity.

Whether or not the effect would be large depends how large climate-related changes in temperatures, floods, cyclones and droughts are and how close the connections between these changes and reduced farm incomes, shrunken opportunities elsewhere in the economy and decline in government revenues are.

### **Government Policies**

Climate change related extreme events such as floods; cyclones and droughts would asymmetrically hurt and harm the poor as they are more exposed to floods. Disproportionately, large number of them being landless workers or marginal farmers, they also bear the greatest burden of droughts. There are adverse impacts of climate change on indigenous people as they are less able to shelter themselves.

Heavy rains and floods damage the urban poor living in dwellings that readily collapse under heavy downpour. The Government of India from time to time has enacted various policies and laws for mitigating climate change.

- The Environment (Protection) Act, 1986 was introduced as an umbrella legislation that provides a holistic framework for the protection and improvement of the environment. It makes obligatory for the Central Government to protect and improve environmental quality control and reduce pollution from various sources, and prohibit or restrict the setting and /or operation of any industrial facility on environmental grounds.
- The Environment (Protection) Rules, 1986 lay down procedures for setting standards of emission or discharge of environmental pollutants.
- The Hazardous Waste (Management and Handling) Rules, 1989 helps to control the

generation, collection, import, storage, handling and treatment of hazardous waste.

- The Manufacture, Storage, and Import of Hazardous Rules, 1989 define the terms used in this regard, and sets up an authority to inspect yearly, the industrial activity connected with hazardous chemicals and its storage facilities.
- The National Environmental Tribunal Act, 1995 was created to award compensation for damages to persons, property, and the environment arising from any activity involving hazardous substances.
- The National Environment Appellate Authority Act, 1997 was established to hear appeals with respect to restrictions of areas in which classes of industries etc. are carried out or prescribed subject to certain safeguards under the EPA.
- The Environment (Siting for Industrial Projects) Rules, 1999 lay down detailed provisions relating to areas to be avoided for siting of industries, precautionary measures to be taken for site selecting as also the aspects of environmental protection which should have been incorporated during the implementation of the industrial development projects.
- The Municipal Solid Wastes (Management and Handling) Rules, 2000 apply to every municipal authority responsible for the collection, segregation, storage, transportation, processing, and disposal of municipal solid wastes.
- The Ozone Depleting Substances (Regulation and Control) Rules, 2000 have been laid down for the regulation of production and consumption of ozone depleting substances.
- The Biological Diversity Act, 2002 was enacted to provide for the conservation of biological diversity, sustainable use of its components, and fair and equitable sharing of the benefits arising out of the use of biological resources and knowledge associated with it

- The Wildlife Protection Act 1972 and Amendment 1991 provides for the protection of birds and animals and for all matters that are connected to it whether it be their habitat or the waterhole or the forests that sustain them.
- The Forest (Conservation) Act and Rules, 1981 lay down the rules for the protection and conservation of the forests.
- The River Boards Act, 1956 enables the states to enroll the central government in setting up an Advisory River Board to resolve issues in inter-state cooperation.
- The Merchant Shipping Act, 1970 aims to deal with waste arising from ships along the coastal areas within a specified radius.
- The Water (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Act, 1974 was enacted to establish an institutional structure for preventing and abating water pollution. It establishes standards for water quality and effluent. Polluting industries must seek permission to discharge waste into effluent bodies. The CPCB (Central Pollution Control Board) was constituted under this act.
- The Water (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Cess Act, 1977 was enacted to levy and collect cess or fees on water consuming industries and local authorities.
- The Water (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Cess Rules, 1978 contains the standard definitions and indicate the kind of and location of meters that every consumer of water is required to affix.
- The Coastal Regulation Zone Notification, 1991 regulates various activities including construction.
- The Factories Act, 1948 and Amendment in 1987 was enacted to express concern for the working environment of the workers. The amendment of 1987 has sharpened its environmental focus and expanded its application to hazardous processes.
- The Air (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Act, 1981 provides for the control and abatement of air pollution. It entrusts the power of enforcing this act to the CPCB.
- The Air (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Rules, 1982 define the procedures of the meetings of the Boards and the powers entrusted to them.
- The Air (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Amendment Act, 1987 empowers the central and state pollution control boards to meet with grave emergencies of air pollution.<sup>12</sup>
- The Biological Diversity Act, 2002 was enacted by the Ministry of Environment and Forests under the United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity signed at Rio de Janeiro on the 5th day of June, 1992 of which India is also a party. This Act is to “provide for the conservation of biological diversity, sustainable use of its components, and fair and equitable sharing of the benefits arising out of the use of biological resources, knowledge and for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto.”
- Hazardous wastes (Management And Handling) Amendment Rules, 2003 classify used mineral oil as hazardous waste under the Hazardous Waste (Management & Handling) Rules, 2003 that requires proper handling and disposal. The organization will seek authorization for disposal of hazardous waste from concerned State Pollution Control Boards (SPCB) as when required.

#### **Other Environmental Related Laws**

- The Shore Nuisance (Bombay and Kolaba) Act, 1853
- The Serais Act, 1867

- The North India Canal and Drainage Act, 1873
- Obstruction in Fairways Act, 1881
- Indian Easements Act, 1882
- The Indian Fisheries Act, 1897
- Indian Ports Act, 1908
- The Indian Forest Act, 1927
- The Damodar Valley Corporation Act, 1948
- The Factories Act, 1948
- The Mines Act, 1952
- The River Boards Act, 1956
- The Merchant Shipping Act, 1958

### **National Action Plan on Climate Change**

Prime Minister of India Dr ManMohan Singh declared National Action Plan on Climate Change on 30 June, 2008 to coordinate national action for assessment, adaptation and mitigation of climate change. The NAPCC laid principles, approaches and institutional arrangement for Eight National Missions for managing climate change agenda. It has explicitly advocated development without environmental degradation. The adopted principles for NAPCC are enlisted below.

- Inclusive and sustainable development strategy
- Efficient and cost-effective strategies for Demand Side management
- Accelerated deployment of appropriate technologies
- Innovative market, regulatory, and voluntary mechanisms.<sup>13</sup> The Eight National Missions as per NAPCC constitute a multi pronged, long term and integrated strategy for achieving key goals in the context of climate change. The key features of the five proposed missions, relevant

to adaptation to climate change can be highlighted as under:

#### **1. National Water Mission**

- Integrated water resource management ensuring conservation,
- minimizing wastage and equitable distribution;
- evolve a regulatory mechanism;
- incentivise water-neutral and positive technology;
- optimize and expand irrigation potential;
- conservation of wetland ecosystems.

#### **2. National Mission for Sustaining the Himalayan Ecosystems**

- Evolve management measures that sustain and safeguard the Himalayan glacial system and mountain ecosystems;
- establish a monitoring and observational network;
- protection and enhancement of forests & ecosystems with the objective of bringing two third areas of these regions under forest cover.

#### **3. National Mission for a Green India**

- Increase in forest cover to promote ecosystem services like carbon sinks, preservation of ecological balance and conservation of biodiversity;
- aims at afforestation of 6 million hectares of degraded forestland with the participation of Joint Forest Management Committees (JFMCs);
- effective implementation of Wildlife Conservation Act and National Biodiversity Conservation Act 2001.

#### **4. National Mission for Sustainable Agriculture**

- Identification and development of new varieties of crops which are thermal resistant;
- evolve cropping patterns which are capable of withstanding extreme weather patterns;
- create a knowledge network integrating traditional knowledge and practices with modern technology;
- strengthen agriculture and weather insurance mechanism and credit support mechanism.

### 5. National Mission on Strategic Knowledge for Climate Change

- Create collaborations with the global community in research and technology development;
- encourage research in socio-economic impacts of climate change;
- set up academic units in Universities and other academic and scientific research institutions linked through a network to promote climate change related research activities;
- create a Climate Science Research Fund for providing funds for research.<sup>14</sup>

### Conclusion

Climate change being a global problem affects everyone - the rich and the poor, the developed and developing without any favoritism. Both the major and minor contributors are equally affected by the adverse impact of climate change. Therefore, a consensus has developed in the world that there is an urgency to abate carbon emissions.

India very well understands the gravity of the situation but the mitigation of climate change at the cost of its development seems to be an unfair bargain. Major emitters of the previous century which increased their carbon emissions incessantly to pursue the path of rapid development cannot expect developing countries to forget their own development to clean up the developed countries' mess.

India being a fast growing economy has many obligations towards its own citizens like as providing better standards of living which can only be obtained through a massive expansion of economy. The wealth of country needs to be increased and distributed in a holistic manner to tackle the problem of poverty and low standard of living prevalent in the majority of population.

India's infrastructure sector which is the major driver of economic growth cannot be unnecessarily burdened with the monumental task of mitigating climate change and incurring huge financial expenditure in the process when it itself is financially starved and in need of assistance from private sector.

Thus, India being a minor contributor to the world's GHG emissions and having one of the lowest per-capita emissions in the world, should be allowed to follow the development path and achieve high levels of GDP growth rate in order to meet the demands of its population and provide its citizens with a high standard of living without incurring huge financial expenditure on climate change mitigation which proves to be an impediment in the growth story of the country. It should be allowed to emit at an increased rate as necessitated by the development process the same way in which developed countries did in their developing phase.

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# The Vietnam War at Fifty

Eddie J. Girdner\*

There was a flurry of press reports about how the American Central Intelligence Agency tortured people after 9-11 with the release of the CIA torture report in late 2014. But there was only an occasional mention of the CIA Phoenix Program in Vietnam in the 1960s. Even when a reference was made, there was no explanation about what this program was all about.

The US policy of using torture did not begin with President George W. Bush and Vice-President Dick Cheney. It did not begin with the Vietnam War either, but torture and assassination on a massive scale was at the center of the US war against Vietnam. The program was officially secret and denied by CIA director William Colby. Nevertheless, it happened and some of those who were involved have told their story.

Douglas Valentine has written the definitive study after years of research and some one-hundred interviews of those who implemented the program in Vietnam. The book was published some twenty-five years ago, but quietly went out of print and disappeared mysteriously from the bookstores. The US Government has gone to considerable pains to see that this extensive record of war crimes was flushed down the memory hole for good. Few people would know anything about it.

This effort appears to have been quite effective. Most reporters discussing the CIA torture in secret prisons around the world appear to know little or nothing about what happened in Vietnam. Fortunately, Valentine's book is again available as a print on demand book. One is not likely to stumble across it in a book store in the US. The historical record has been wiped slick.

Now with the fiftieth anniversary of the beginning of the War in Vietnam being celebrated in the US, a new sanitized history of the war is being presented.

Once again, it will be touted as a valiant effort to save the world from the evil of communism. America made mistakes, it will be said, but we all meant well. It is just the world out there is a difficult place. American exceptionalism will again be rehearsed. The United States of America is just too altruistic; some will plead, for its own good.

The real story is here, retrieved from the memory hole, by those who would like for Americans to know what the directors of the US Empire were really doing in Vietnam. They were actually involved in torturing and murdering a lot of people, most of them innocent. Much of this CIA activity comes under the rubric of war crimes, what the Japanese were convicted of after World War II.

The story is long and complex. It takes some concerted effort to read Valentine's book and follow the developments as the US attempted to prevent a communist take-over of South Vietnam. However, the effort is worth it for a deeper understanding, not only of this war, but how the necessary policies of Empires are put into action. The essence of the War was kept secret from the American people. At root, the war in Vietnam was a war against the people by a corrupt ruling class armed and funded by the United States of America.

The book begins with a true story told by a former Navy SEAL, who served in Vietnam. His name was Elton Manzione. He was sent on a mission in the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) near the North Vietnamese border in 1964. He was part of a "hunter-killer team." The US had a problem with a small village because someone in the village was taking shots at aircraft from the village with an anti-aircraft gun.

A hunter-killer team of four members was often made up of four Americans, but sometimes it included two Vietnamese of Chinese or Chinese

mercenaries (CTs). The CTs or counterterrorists were enemy soldiers who had defected or sometimes South Vietnamese criminals. After the four-man team scouts the village for a few days and the enemy is found, a killer team is called in. This team consists of twelve to twenty-five South Vietnamese Special Forces led by Green Berets.

This time, however, the mission was for the four-man team to go into the village alone and blow up the gun and kill the guy who was operating the gun. Normally, the US would have just bombed the village, but perhaps because an important person was living there, this could not be done.

With a map of the village and a picture of the guy operating the gun, the team scoped out the small village of fifteen hooches. They knew where the guy lived and that he had two daughters. It was Elton's job to enter the hooch and kill the guy. Another team member would blow up the gun and another stand guard.

The mission was carried out a four o'clock in the morning. The team crawled up to the village wearing black pajamas and with their faces covered with black. Elton found the hooch. When he entered, he found two people sleeping. He thinks one of them is the guy he is to assassinate. He has been trained how to kill a person instantly with his commando knife. He attacks and kills the first person. When the second person wakes up, he shoots her in the head. Then he discovers that he has killed two young girls, the guy's daughters.

The team goes back to the base having failed in their mission after killing two innocent people. Elton says that he sat on a pile of ammunition and refused to get up until he was promised a ticket back home. At some later point, he is living AWOL in Europe.

This program in 1964 was a forerunner to the Phoenix program but was exactly the same. The US military referred to it as the "undermining of the infrastructure" of the Vietcong. This was done through kidnapping, assassination, and sabotage. These operators came to realize that they were "no longer the good guys." They were "assassins, pure and simple.

The research for the book took four years and was not easy. First, most that were in the program were legally prohibited from talking about it. Secondly, the military records were falsified. Their records sometimes do not even show that they were ever in Vietnam. Some were listed as "cooks." The US Government used a "cloak of secrecy, threats and fraud."

To the extent that some of the truth eventually leaked out, Phoenix and other operations changed the way many Americans thought of themselves and their government. But it must be said that most Americans do not have a clue that any of this was going on, carried out by their own country. And they will never find out unless they have access to books like Valentine's.

The Vietnam War became the most unpopular war ever, even with Americans not knowing the true story.

The Phoenix Program was developed by the CIA in 1967. It brought existing counterinsurgency programs together to "neutralize" the Vietcong infrastructure. Neutralize meant to "kill, capture or make to defect." The term "infrastructure" referred to "those civilians suspected of supporting North Vietnamese and Vietcong soldiers." In other words, the program targeted civilians, especially political party members.

In targeting civilians, the Phoenix program was a violation of the Geneva Conventions guaranteeing protection to civilians in time of war. Those targeted were given no due process to defend themselves. Civilians could be kidnapped, tortured, detained without trial for two years, and even murdered just on the word of an anonymous informer.

With the program up and running, the US directors, like Robert McNamara, were demanding a quota of 1800 neutralizations per month. Innocent civilians were caught up in this with all the corruption among policemen, politicians and racketeers. The Central Government used it as a blackmail scheme.

It was, in fact, massive state terrorism, under the name of "counterterrorism." This was a psychological warfare tactic to murder Vietcong and

their families and terrorize their neighbors into submission. Often propaganda was used to make it look like the murders were done by the communists.

Valentine wonders how an America ruled by “law and fair play” could create such a program. It was actually a variation of a program used by the British in Malaya. He believed that Americans were gradually losing touch with democratic ideals. In fact, it seems to be the case. Some polls showed that a majority of Americans asked about the recent CIA torture report said that they supported the use of torture by the US Government. It may well be that a democratic republic is incompatible with the US global Empire.

What the US Government officials in Vietnam in the 1960s referred to as the Vietcong infrastructure (VCI) was simply the domestic resistance to imperialism, first of the French and later the US Empire. Resistance was established over hundreds of years of foreign occupation. The people were forced to resort to guerrilla and terror tactics against the French rule. This is the classic case with any foreign occupation.

The French presence goes back to 1664 when missionaries arrived in Indochina. The French began to do business in trade and formed the East India Company. Trade followed the Bible as the natives were softened up by French Catholics. The French priests became involved in politics. In the nineteenth century, when a French priest was arrested for plotting against the Emperor, the French Navy shelled Da Nang and killed hundreds. In 1859, the French Foreign Legionnaires arrived. In 1861, Saigon was claimed for France.

As French imperialism planted deeper roots, the ports were opened up for trade. The French used Filipino and Chinese mercenary armies to suppress the insurgency. In 1883, the French carried out a reign of terror with many nationalists guillotined. The French plundered the ancient city of Hue.

Taking over rule, the Emperor’s Council of Mandarins was disbanded and replaced with French advisors. The French took over the bureaucracy and nationalists were sent to jail. Resisters turned to using terrorism. Low level officials, such as police, teachers and mailmen were killed.

During World War I, Vietnamese religious sects served as fronts for anti-French activities. Political parties arose and some became communists. Secret cells were formed while the French sent agents to kill them or put them in Con Son prison. This prison was called Ho Chi Minh University.

In 1941, Ho Chi Minh formed the Viet Minh. By 1945, Ho controlled six provinces around Hanoi and declared Vietnamese independence. The Viet Minh worked with the US Office of Strategic Services (OSS) during the war. This organization was transformed into the CIA after the war. But at this time, other Americans were supporting the French.

When it was clear that Ho had links with Moscow, the US moved to support the return of the French to the country. Vietnam was divided along the 16th parallel at Potsdam at the end of the war by Russia, China and the US. Chiang Kai-Shek’s Kuomintang controlled the north. Chinese troops plundered Hanoi and drove out the Japanese as the French returned.

In the south, the British were in charge under Lord Louis Mountbatten. Saigon was returned to the French and Bao Dai installed as Emperor. He was what the French called a suppletif.

By 1946, the Viet Minh were again at war with the French with the US CIA assisting the French. The US Army assisted in training commandos. The US provided four billion US dollars to the French war in Vietnam between 1950 and 1954. In 1950, the US sent in a Military Assistance Group (MAAG) of 350 soldiers to Saigon to train Vietnamese soldiers. The US provided four million dollars a year to Bao Dai, mostly skimmed off and hidden in secret Swiss bank accounts.

After the French were defeated at Dien Bien Phu in 1954, Vietnam was divided at the 17th parallel. The US installed Ngo Dinh Diem, a Catholic Mandarin from Hue to head the Government in the South. Air Force Colonel Edward Lansdale arrived in Saigon in 1954. He was a CIA officer, under Air Force attaché cover at the US Embassy. Arriving from running a counterterrorism assassination program in the Philippines, Lansdale began to set up programs that would eventually become a part of the Phoenix Program.

Operations included sabotage and black propaganda. The CIA began to organize special forces or assassination hit teams. Lansdale set up the Civic Action Program and funded it through the CIA. He used North Vietnamese Catholics as covers for CIA ops, but this effort largely failed. The people did not trust them. In Operation Brotherhood, dispensaries were used as covers for covert counterterrorism operations.

The National Revolution Movement was a political front for Diem's Con Lao political party. Diem had all his political opposition arrested. Lansdale realized that this was not going to work and advocated a more open and free political process but it was too late. He was being rotated out of Vietnam. His successors were dedicated to giving support to Diem. Lansdale approached Secretary of State John Foster Dulles in Washington, who dismissed his views as "idealist." South Vietnam was only a "mask of democracy." Diem was a US puppet.

In 1954, Michigan State University was given a contract from the US National Security Council (NSC) for a technical assistance program in Vietnam. CIA officers worked undercover as professors. Among other things, special police would be trained for the Government of Vietnam under the rubric of internal security. Most aid was given to the new Vietnamese Bureau of Investigation (VBI). The top officers were trained by the US CIA and FBI at Georgetown University in Washington, DC. The classes included criminal investigations, interrogation, and counterinsurgency. This program became a key foundation for the Phoenix Program.

Americans in Saigon turned a blind eye as they watched truck-loads of political prisoners taken to Con Son prison. They would be tortured and many killed. The Saigon zoo was being used as a morgue. Diem's enemies were suppressed and information collected on Vietcong activity in the villages.

In 1959, Diem held a sham election with Civil Action Cadre stuffing the ballot boxes. Everyone was too terrified to talk. Village chiefs were forced to rig the election in their village or be killed by the VBI. The Americans knew that eighty percent of the people favored the so-called Vietcong but there was a democratic facade. At the time, the Vietcong was

following a policy of non-violence.

The most serious mistake made by Diem, according to a former CIA officer, was the 10/59 Law. Anyone considered to be infringing national security could be sentenced to death or imprisoned for life. Most of the targets were nationalists, not communists. The first year of the law jailed fifty-thousand people. This Diem-style "democracy" led many more to support the Viet Minh.

In reaction, under Doan 559, the Viet Minh carved out the Ho Chi Minh trail through Laos, Cambodia and South Vietnam. As troops infiltrated into the South, the Green Berets, US Army Special Forces, were sent to stop them. These operated in twelve-man teams under the cover of the Civic Action Program. They organized paramilitary units for counterinsurgency operations. They were operating as part of the CIA.

One group was called the "Sneaky Petes." They dressed in civilian clothes and turned the Pathet Lao deserters into double agents. They returned to their units with tracking devices which allowed the CIA to carry out air strikes on units. More American special forces arrived to carry out psychological operations.

William Colby arrived in Saigon in 1959. US CIA money was being handed out to all the political parties. The US Agency for International Development (USAID) was also a cover for CIA officers. For example, the AID/PSD or Public Safety Division was part of the operation to target dissidents.

The US set about uprooting the villages to set up "agrovilles." These were tent cities protected by moats, brick walls and bamboo stakes. The old villages were then destroyed. The idea was to separate the guerrillas (fish) from the people (the sea). The insurgents would be treated to imprisonment or assassination, or sometimes given a chance to defect. The "Popular Forces" were South Vietnamese units trained by the US Army and the CIA to control these agrovilles, lovely.

The program actually backfired, not too surprisingly. Few would like to be uprooted from their village for a sort of concentration camp. People just became

more sympathetic to the Vietcong. Corrupt government officials grew fat on US Government money. Diem lost more and more popular support. The Buddhists were supporting the insurgents.

In 1960, the situation was ripe for the communists to announce the formation of the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam. They said all Americans should be expelled from the country. In 1961, the People's Revolutionary Party (PRP) was launched. The party claimed to have half a million members by 1962.

The PRP party members were the main targets of the Phoenix Program. Especially, they tried to neutralize the province, district and village party secretaries. This was relatively easy at the village level; nearly impossible at the province level, as the chiefs were hard to find.

Valentine points out that the United States refused to admit that nationalism was the driving cause of the insurrection and that the US had come to be viewed as an occupying power, like the French. Colby always argued that the people were being coerced by communist terror to support the Vietcong.

At a later point, US President John F. Kennedy pulled the plug on Diem. The US gave the nod for him to be assassinated and he was taken out.

The counterinsurgency program unfolded through many phases over the years. Valentine's book takes the reader through the twists and turns of the US programs from these early beginnings up to the 1970s, when the US lost the war. It is a tedious history, but a revealing story. Americans should know it, but most will not. It is something that will never get into the school history textbooks. One may observe the whitewashing that goes on even now as the fiftieth anniversary of the war is celebrated.

In the late 1960s, some 26,843 non-military Vietcong insurgents and sympathizers were neutralized in just fourteen months. The figures for 1970 are 8191 Vietcong infrastructure (VCI) killed, 7745 defected, and 6415 jailed. Those behind the targeting of these civilians who were to have protection under the

Geneva Conventions will never be taken to an international tribunal. Those who rounded up and tortured people in Afghanistan and Iraq after 9-11 will never have to answer for their actions. International law will never be applied to them. Most war crimes simply disappear down the memory hole.

One can see from reviews of Valentine's book posted on the Amazon.com website that there is much hostility to the information that is brought to light in this book. Some anonymous reviewers just charge Valentine with blatant lies. One would like to know who is posting these comments. They are hiding their identity. On the other hand, most reviewers are thankful for the effort to uncover the real history of the war.

Valentine merely replies that he interviewed around one-hundred people who were involved in implementing the program. They could not all be lying. There will always be those who defend the crimes of Empire in the interests of the Empire.

With the citizens of the Empire kept in the dark, it is not surprising that history keeps repeating itself. Officials will plea that we went off track and made mistakes at Abu Gharaib and Gitmo, but we want to ensure the people that it will never happen again. Then the next time the empire invades a country and carries out torture on a massive scale and it eventually comes out, it is again a surprise to the population, because they did not bother to inform themselves of the truth.

The story has been kept out of the history books, at least those published by the big corporate publishers. There is a very good reason why the officials of the Empire do everything they can to prevent people from reading such informative books. And rather than honor scholars who sacrifice years to uncover the truth, the authors are discredited and attempts are made to silence them. Truthful academics who dare to reveal the secrets often seek jobs in universities in vain. Fortunately, Valentine's book is available for those who want to know the truth in this fiftieth year celebration of the war.



# Perspectives on Urban Poverty in India

N. Prasanna\* & K. Radhika\*\*

*[While dwelling on the theme of urban poverty with its attendant dimensions regionally and nationally, the author focuses on urban-rural migration phenomenon instrumental in augmentation of urban poverty generally found in slums in the cities. Empirical analysis generated by the author recommends some concrete suggestions to better the lot of urban poor. Ed.]*

**A**s India is still on the path of development, there are large numbers of people living below poverty line. In fact, India is home to the world's largest number of poor people living in a single country. In this connection Gupta et al. (2011), have noted that there was a slow decline in poverty after reforms were initiated in the 1990s, it declined rapidly during 1999-2000 to 2004-05. But, they argue that though the poverty ratio has declined, the absolute poverty in India has not declined so much.

There were 315 million poor in 2004-05 as compared to 324 million in 1983. What is to be noted here is that over the past three decades (1973-2004) the number of the urban poor has increased by 34.4 per cent and the share of the urban poor in the total population has increased from 18.7 per cent in 1973 to 26.8 per cent in 2004-05 (Planning Commission, 2011).

The same scenario can be observed everywhere; the world population is quickly becoming urbanized as people migrate to the cities. In developing countries, more than 5 million people migrate to urban areas each month. The urban growth is attributed to both natural population growth and rural to urban migration. Huge number of people migrating to urban areas for employment and livelihood is the principal cause of creation of slums.

According to NSSO, the definition of slum is, "A slum is a compact settlement with a collection of

poorly built tenements, mostly of temporary nature, crowded together usually with inadequate sanitary and drinking water facilities in unhygienic conditions. (Slum Statistical Report, 2011).

Such an area, for the purpose of the survey, was considered as "non - notified slum" if at least 20 households lived in that area. Areas notified as slums by the respective municipalities, corporations, local bodies or development authorities were treated as notified slums".

According to the World Bank (2013), nearly a billion urban poor live in slums; to be close to the jobs and opportunity generated by urban growth. Rapidly growing cities are under tremendous pressure to increase access to basic services, land, infrastructure, and affordable housing, especially for the poor.

Two thirds of the world's population lives in cities. In the 1950s, less than 30 per cent of the world's population lived in urban areas or cities. This number grew to 47 per cent in the year 2000, which is about 2.8 billion people in absolute number and it is expected to grow to 60 per cent by the year of 2025 (Paramasivan, 2008).

Slum population in India constituted 17.5 per cent of the urban population in 1981, which rose up to 21.3 per cent in 1991 (Slum Statistical Report, 2011). According to Toor (2012), 93.06 million people live in slums in cities despite India's robust economic growth in the last decade. There has been an addition of 17.8 million to the urban slum population across the country in the last decade.

According to the Census 2011, 22 per cent of Indian urban population lives in slums as against 32 per

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cent for the whole world population. Most, if not all of these people earn under the urban poverty line. Also, 8.5 million of the city's population lives in sub-standard or unsafe housing conditions.

As per the latest NSSO Report, viz., Slum Statistical Report (2011), there are over 80 million poor people living in the cities and towns of India. According to the Town and Country Planning Organization (TCPO), the slum population is increasing and as per the Slum Statistical Report (2011), an estimated 61.82 million people live in slums.

Patnaik Utsa (2010) in this regard observes that urban poverty has been usually and correctly thought of as being affected strongly by employment and income trends in rural areas. The completely landless poor in rural areas have always been footloose migrants, with a large component migrating seasonally to other rural areas and another stream migrating to urban areas in search of work.

According to Coelho and Maringanti (2012), the Third World cities, despite rising unemployment, falling real wages, soaring prices, overcrowding and poor infrastructure, continue to attract ever-increasing numbers of rural migrants, resulting in a planetary spread of slums and a growing urbanization of poverty.

The reason for this has been provided by Jayan and Sundaram (2003), who have explained the migration model forwarded by Todaro (1997). According to them, the Todaro Model is more realistic though it sees migration as purely an economic phenomenon. The model explains the paradoxical relationship of accelerated rural-urban migration in the context of rising urban unemployment. The model postulates that "migration proceeds in response to urban-rural differences. It is expected income rather than actual earnings.

The fundamental promise is that the migrants consider various labour market opportunities available to them in the rural and urban sectors and choose one that maximizes their expected gains from migration". So, the rural-urban migration is the key reason for the creation of slums in urban areas.

Pernia (1994) focuses on the problems of urbanization and argues that generally shortage of housing, critical inadequacies in public utilities such as power, water, etc., are the major problems of urbanization. In fact urban poverty is considered to be the biggest problem of urban areas because it leads to many other urban problems.

Paramasivan (2008) in this regard argues that urbanization is not necessarily bad in itself. It becomes a problem when the rate of growth of the urban population exceeds the capacity of the infrastructure to absorb and support it, and hence the creation of slums.

Slums are characterized by lack of basic civic services like waste collection and disposal, clean drinking water, properly maintained drainage system, electricity or paved roads. Slums have inhuman and dangerous living conditions with a total lack of security and a fear of demolition at any point. Slums breed poverty and high unemployment, and so, there is a high crime rate stemming from these areas.

So, it is important to analyze the problems of urban poverty that exist in the slums. In this regard, the present study focuses on analyzing the problems of urban slum dwellers in Jailpettai slum in Tiruchirappalli Town.

### **Objectives**

1. To analyze the socio-economic conditions of slum dwellers of Jailpettai slum.
2. To analyze the problems faced by the slum dwellers in the study area.

### **Methodology**

The present study has selected Jailpettai slum as the study area, which is located in the 19th ward of Thiruchirappalli City Corporation. The present study is a micro level and it is based on both primary and secondary data. For collecting primary data, an interview schedule was prepared on the basis of a pilot survey.

The interview schedule contains the questions related to income, consumption and saving pattern of the households living in Jailpettai slum. Jailpettai slum

has 200 households out of which 25 per cent of the households were chosen randomly for the study. The percentage and average were used for analyzing the data. The household details of Jailpettai slums were collected from the Primary Health Centre in Jailpettai, Thiruchirappalli.

### **Analysis and Interpretation**

The Table-1 shows the age-wise distribution of the slum dwellers. The age-wise distribution shows four categories, namely, children population (0-4), school-age population (5-14), working age population (15-60) and old age population (above 60). It can be seen from Table-1 that the higher percentage of respondents, i.e., 66 per cent comes under the working age population category. Further 20 per cent, 8 per cent and 6 per cent are in the category of school-age population, old population and children population respectively.

It can be found that majority of the slum dwellers come under the working age population category. This finding corroborates with the findings of Lewis (1954) and Fei- Ranis (1961) who observed that people migrate from areas of meager economic opportunities to areas of abundant opportunities. Therefore, working age population is concentrated in slum areas.

Table-2 gives the community-wise details of the respondents and indicates that most of the respondents, i.e., 78 per cent come under the SC category. Another 22 per cent belong to BC category. There are no ST and MBC respondents in the study area. The reason for no ST community is that, these people don't like to migrate from their native places; most of these people live in tribal location.

It is clear from the data that most of the respondents who are living in the slum belong to SC community. This finding corroborates with the findings of Vakulabharanam and Motiram (2012) who have observed that among cast groups in urban areas poverty is highest among the SC, followed by the other backward classes and others. Economic backwardness is not only the reason for staying in the slum area, but other factors such as social factors

like, communal affinity influence people to live in slum areas.

Table-3 reveals the education-wise distribution of the respondents. It is observed that no one has attained higher education level and 36 per cent of slum dwellers are illiterate, 30 per cent of the slum dwellers have completed secondary level education. Only 18 per cent of the respondents have studied SSLC. It can be found that most of the slum dwellers are illiterate and the maximum level is secondary level education.

There are few reasons behind the poor educational attainment of slum dwellers. They are not aware about the importance of education, and their socio-economic and living conditions do not encourage them go to school. Finally, the ordinary life is very challenging to them and so they are not able to concentrate on education.

Table-4 shows the occupation-wise distribution of the sample respondents. The occupation has been classified into four different categories, namely, self-employed, regular employed, casual labour and unemployed. This table shows that the majority of the respondents, i.e., 76 per cent are working as a casual labour. Few respondents come under each of the other three categories. It can be found that the majority of slum dwellers are working as casual labour. It means they get employment opportunities only in the informal sector.

This finding corroborates with the findings of Paramasivan and Manikaraj (2010) who argue that slum dwellers have been forced to survive in the informal sector. Migration and economic status are the push factors that force the slum dwellers into the urban informal sector, where the condition of work and earnings are very poor. Another reason for being employed in the urban informal sector as casual labour is that most of the slum dwellers' education is very poor.

Table-5 shows the family type distribution of the slum dwellers. In the slum area 78 per cent of the respondents live in nuclear family and only 22 per cent of the respondents live in joint family. It can be found that the majority of the slum dwellers like to

live as nuclear family. In general, people prefer to live as nuclear family so as to avoid family problems and financial problems.

In the case of slum dwellers, a specific reason behind the nuclear family choice is to get separate ration cards from the government, which gives them some special benefits when compared to non-slum dwellers. For example, slum dwellers get 10 liters of kerosene every month, which is a special benefit received by them. So, government benefits like ration cards play a vital role to determine the family type in the area.

Table-6 shows the number of working persons in the slum. It can be seen from this Table-6 that in 80 per cent of the households, two persons are working, in 16 per cent of the households three persons are working and only in 2 per cent of the households, one person is working. Lastly, in two per cent of the households none is working. It is observed that in the majority of the slum dweller households, two persons are working.

It can be found that in all the households, a minimum of two persons in the household have to work to satisfy their minimum needs. The number of working persons is very important as it determines the economic status of the household. But, improvement in economic status has not happened much in the slum area because all of them are working in the informal sector as casual labour. So, the number of working persons in a household does not play a major role in improving the economic position of the household in the urban slum.

Table-7 reveals the monthly income level of the slum dwellers, 52 per cent of the respondents' households earn Rs 3,001-6,000, while 20 per cent of the respondents' households earn below Rs.3,000. Only a few respondents' households earn Rs.6,001-15,000, this is because, either the respondent or a household member works as municipality cleaner or sweeper.

It can be found that the majority of the households earn below Rs.6,000 per month as income. This is because they are working as casual labour. This income is sufficient for them to meet their basic needs

only. They struggle to find alternate and better opportunities.

Table-8 shows the per capita expenditure of the respondents' households, which is classified into two categories, viz., Below Poverty Line (BPL) and Above Poverty Line (APL). According to the Planning Commission Report 2011-12, people spending less than Rs.937 per head per month in urban areas in Tamil Nadu are treated to be BPL. Based on this classification, only 22 per cent of the respondents' households fall under the BPL category; whereas the majority 78 per cent of the respondents' households falls under the APL in the study area.

This seems to be good, but the practical situation is quite different. The respondents' expenditure is very high when compared to their income. To fill up this gap, they borrow from money lenders, friends, mortgage the ornaments, etc. So, even though the majority of the respondents' households are classified as APL, they may actually not be spending from their earnings.

Table-9 shows the households affected by diseases. 60 per cent of the households are affected by some disease or other, 40 per cent of the households are not affected by any diseases. Majority of the slum dwellers are affected from diseases because of bad environmental conditions and lack of proper sanitation facilities. From the results, it can be found that most of the slum dwellers are affected by one disease or the other because of unhealthy lifestyle and worse environment around them.

## **Conclusion**

Urbanization leads to faster growth of the economy. But, it does not mean that infrastructural facilities are provided for all urban people. It is one of the problems of urbanization and the areas severely affected due to lack of infrastructure are slums. The slum areas are highly concentrated with working age population and the Schedule Caste population. The level of education is low and does not permit these people to go for better jobs; therefore, majority of working persons work in lower level in the informal sector. So, their income is low and it is not sufficient for meeting their needs.

The environmental conditions are also poor and affect their health. The ration card plays a vital role in their lives. It, at least, ensures that some amount of food reaches such poor people. If we consider the poverty line estimated by the Planning Commission of India (2012), which is Rs.937 per month per head in terms of expenditure, most of the respondents fall above it. But, the reality of the situation in which these people live is very pathetic. Technically, they may not be classified as poor, but in reality they are poor in terms of the conditions in which they live or rather survive.

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# Trends in Agriculture Growth in India

Dr. P. Chennakrishnan\* & S. Vijayalakshmi\*\*

*[Agriculture has always been India's most important economic sector. In the mid-1990s, it provided approximately one-third of the gross domestic product (GDP) and employs roughly two-thirds of the population. Since independence in 1947, the share of agriculture in the GDP has declined in comparison to the growth of the industrial and services sectors. However, agriculture still provides the bulk of wage goods required by the nonagricultural sector as well as numerous raw materials for industry. Moreover, the direct share of agricultural and allied sectors in total exports is around 18 percent. When the indirect share of agricultural products in total exports, such as cotton textiles and jute goods, is taken into account, the percentage is much higher.]*

Dependence on agricultural imports in the early 1960s convinced planners that India's growing population, as well as concerns about national independence, security, and political stability, required self-sufficiency in food production. This perception led to a program of agricultural improvement called the Green Revolution, to a public distribution system, and to price supports for farmers.

In the 1980s, despite three years of meager rainfall and a drought in the middle of the decade, India managed to get along with very few food imports because of the growth in food-grain production and the development of a large buffer stock against potential agricultural shortfalls. By the early 1990s, India was self-sufficient in food-grain production.

Agricultural production has kept pace with the food needs of the growing population as the result of increased yields in almost all crops, but especially in cereals. Food grains and pulses accounted for two-thirds of agricultural production in the mid-1990s. The growth in food-grain production is a result of concerted efforts to increase all the Green Revolution inputs needed for higher yields: better seed, more fertilizer, improved irrigation, and education of farmers. Although increased irrigation has helped to lessen year-to-year fluctuations in farm

production resulting from the vagaries of the monsoons, it has not eliminated those fluctuations.

The share of agriculture in total gross domestic product at that time was above 55 per cent, and about 70 per cent of workforce was engaged in agriculture sector. Since the urban industrial and tertiary sectors were very small, and absorbed only 26 per cent of labour force, vast majority of Indian population, about 83 per cent, lived in rural areas (Census 1951).

Though agriculture was the predominant sector at that time but its productivity was very low and output growth during 1901 to 1946 was less than half of the population growth. As a consequence of this, per capita income of rural population was awfully low. With the beginning of era of planned development in 1950-51 it was recognized that agricultural development is the key for rural economic development, improvement in living standard and living conditions of country's population, and eradication of widespread poverty and malnutrition prevalent in the country.

Performance of agriculture sector was also considered crucial for overall development of vast majority of people of India and for attaining several economic goals. It was thus imperative to follow the policy and development strategy which favoured quick and high growth rate of agriculture.

Another notable feature of India's agricultural economy is its diversity. Both, agriculture growth

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and productivity have shown tremendous variation across regions and states of the country. In the light of this, the present paper analyzes trends in agricultural productivity at national and state level in India and identifies the factors responsible for varied performance of different segments of agriculture and states.

### **Historical Growth Trends in Agriculture**

Indian agriculture has witnessed wide variations in growth performance during a span of six decades after independence. The variability is particularly pronounced due to the subsistence nature of farming in India and the sector's heavy dependence on monsoon and other climatic parameters.

In the initial years after the inception of planned development, it was the Green Revolution technologies that fired up growth in the sector for nearly three decades. The impact of Green Revolution tapered off gradually towards the later years of the last century. Economic reforms initiated in early nineties had a significant impact on agricultural sector, primarily due to the opening up of economy to external competition, liberalization of trade and deregulation of input and other sub-sectors.

Analyzing the year-on-year growth in Agricultural GDP for the entire period is cumbersome and such growth figures are subject to sharp inter-year fluctuations that make it difficult to identify any structural breaks or secular acceleration/ deceleration. In order to overcome this problem and to capture the effects of major changes in technologies and policies on the sector in various phases, an analysis based on decadal trend growth rates is attempted here.

The GDP-Agriculture series was first smoothed by taking 2-year moving averages to remove the effects of abrupt weather variations and other shocks. Further, trend growth rates were estimated by fitting semi-log trend to the smoothed data. The series begins with 10-years period from 1950-51 to 1960-61 and is extended up to the latest decade ending with the year 2010-11. Based on this, five distinct phases of growth were identified and are outlined below:

- (i) Phase I: Pre-Green Revolution Period (1950-51 to 1967-68)
- (ii) Phase II: Early Green Revolution period (1968-69 to 1985-86)
- (iii) Phase III: Period of wider dissemination (1986-87 to 1996-97)
- (iv) Phase IV: Post-Reform Period (1997-98 to 2005-06)
- (v) Phase V: Period of Recovery (2006-07 to 2009-10/2010-11)

The pre-Green Revolution period (1950-51 to 1967-68) was characterized by steep decline in growth in GDP agriculture, with decadal growth rates found to plummet sharply from 2.78 per cent to 1.06 per cent between the period 1950-51 and 1967-68. The Green Revolution was kick started from the year 1966 and the effects of adoption of superior technology and institutional reforms were found to manifest from 1968-69 onwards. The subsequent period is classified as early Green Revolution period and a visible reversal of growth in GDP agriculture was observed.

The decadal growth rate reached near 3 per cent by the decade ending with 1985-86. The period of wider dissemination of technology was characterized by sustained growth in the sector for over a decade peaking at the year 1996-97. The deceleration of growth was started from 1997-98 onwards and a clear indication of slumping of the agricultural sector was visible till the year 2005-06.

This slump is widely perceived as an outcome of substantial diversion of resources away from agriculture to other sectors of the economy, a point which is elaborated in subsequent sections. However, a significant recovery of growth was observed in the last few years that have pushed the decadal growth rates above 3 per cent.

In nutshell, the growth series clearly establish the sharp deceleration of the agricultural sector in the post-reforms period and an unambiguous turnaround in the last five years, which also happens to be the 11th five year plan period.

Since the 1940s, agricultural productivity has increased dramatically, due largely to the increased use of energy-intensive mechanization, fertilizers and pesticides. The vast majority of this energy input comes from fossil fuel sources. Between the 1960–65 measuring cycle and the cycle from 1986 to 1990, the Green Revolution transformed agriculture around the globe, with world grain production increasing significantly (between 70% and 390% for wheat and 60% to 150% for rice, depending on geographic area) as world population doubled.

Modern agriculture’s heavy reliance on petrochemicals and mechanization has raised concerns that oil shortages could increase costs and reduce agricultural output, causing food shortages.

In order to further understand the growth performance of the agricultural sector and to compare and contrast it with that of overall economy and non-agricultural sectors, trend growth rates of these disaggregated series have been worked out. It is observed that, the overall economy has been witnessing a steady progress with growth rates registering sustained increase in each subsequent phase.

The annual average trend growth improved from 3.71 per cent in pre-Green Revolution period to 8.24 per cent in the last phase of recovery. However, both agricultural and allied sector and agricultural sector in isolation depicted deceleration during the post-reforms period followed by a recovery.

It is worth noting that the non-agricultural sector registered a higher growth during post-reforms period in relation to the three former phases. The growth performance of this sector was particularly impressive in the last five years with a growth rate of 9.47 per cent.

### Data Sources

The study relies on secondary data compiled from various published sources. Data on area, production and yield were collected from the Directorate of Economics and Statistics (DES), Ministry of Agriculture. Data were collected for agriculture crops. Data on value of crop output

were compiled from the Central Statistical Organisation, Government of India. Since the study covers all major and minor crops grown across major states, a method was devised to identify their relative importance in the cropping pattern.

For this purpose, the Crop Concentration Ratio (CCR) defined as the ratio of share of area under a crop in a state to share of area under a crop in the country (Deshpande et al., 2004). The crops with CCR above 0.40 have been identified as major crops in a particular state and are included in the analysis.

### Performance of Indian Agriculture

Agriculture, including allied activities, accounted for 14.5 per cent of gross domestic product at 2004-05 prices, in 2010-11 as compared to 14.7 per cent in 2009-10. Notwithstanding the declining trend in agriculture’s share in the GDP, it is critical from the income distribution perspective as it accounted for about 58 per cent employment in the country according to Census 2001.

Hence growth in agriculture and allied sectors remains a ‘necessary condition’ for inclusive growth. In terms of composition, out of the total share of 14.5 per cent that agriculture and allied sectors had in GDP in 2010-11, agriculture alone accounted for 12.3 per cent, followed by forestry and logging at 1.4 per cent and fishing at 0.7 per cent (Table I).

**Table 1:- Agriculture Sector: Key Indicators**

Item	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12
GDP-share and growth (at 2004-05)			
Growth in GDP	1.0	7.0	2.5
(Agri and allied) Share in GDP	14.7	14.5	13.9
(Agri and allied) Agriculture	12.4	12.3	
Forestry and logging	1.5	1.4	
Fishing	0.8	0.7	
Share in total G.C.F in the Country (Per cent at 2004-05 Prices)			

G.C.F	7.1	7.2
Agriculture	6.6	6.6
Forestry and logging	0.1	0.1
Fishing	0.5	0.5
Employment in the agriculture sector as share		
Of total workers as per census 2001	58.2	

An analysis of trends in indices of area, production, and yield indices of different crops during the period 1980-81 to 2011-12 is presented in table II. It is observed that during the 1980s, growth in area under rice was marginal at 0.41 per cent; however, growth in production and yield was above 3 per cent. In wheat also, during 1980s growth in area was marginal at 0.46 per cent but growth in production and yield was above 3 per cent.

The growth in production and yield of cereals which was 0.40 per cent and 1.62 per cent respectively in the 1980s has improved significantly to 3.01 per cent and 4.39 per cent respectively in the 2000-01 to 2011-12 periods. During the 1980s there was negative growth in area of total pulses and growth

in production and yield was 1.52 per cent and 1.61 per cent respectively.

The compound growth rates of indices of area, production, and yield of sugarcane during 2000-01 to 2011-12 have declined compared to the 1980s. There has been improvement in annual growth in the indices of yield and area under oilseeds during 2000-01 to 2011-12 as compared to the 1980s.

### Indian Agricultural Trade

India agricultural is the most important sector absorbing two-third of the labour force and contributing one fourth of the total gross domestic products. Table III presents the India's imports and exports of agricultural commodities during 1990-91 to 2010-11. The performance of this sector has been spectacular in the post-independence era.

The country which faced a serious food shortage has now started generating exportable surpluses. In 2010-11, the value of exports of agricultural products was Rs. 120185.48 crore as against Rs. 28657.37 crore in 2000-01 and Rs. 6012.76 crore in 1990-91. Whereas, the value of imports of agricultural products in 1990-91 was Rs. 1205.86 crore which goes up to Rs. 12086.23 crore in 2000-01 and it was 56196.20 crore in 2010-11.

**Table-2: Compound Growth Rates of Area, Production, and Yield**

	1980-81 to 1989-90			1990-91 to 1999-2000			2000-01 to 2011-12		
	Area, Production, Yield			Area, Production, Yield			Area, Production, Yield		
Rice	0.41	3.62	3.19	0.68	2.02	1.34	0.04	1.72	1.68
Wheat	0.46	3.57	3.10	1.72	3.57	1.83	1.22	2.37	1.14
Coarse cereals	-1.34	0.40	1.62	-2.12	-0.02	1.82	-0.75	3.01	4.39
Total Pulse	-0.09	1.52	1.61	-0.60	0.59	0.93	1.70	3.47	1.91
Sugarcane	1.44	2.70	1.24	-0.07	2.73	1.05	1.37	1.96	0.58
Total oilseeds	1.51	5.20	2.43	-0.86	1.63	1.15	2.08	4.45	3.39
Total Food Grains	-0.23	2.85	2.74	-0.07	2.02	1.52	0.43	2.32	2.91

Source: *Economic Survey of India*, 2011-12

In the first decade of globalization the exports of agricultural products show 4.76 times growth and imports show 10.02 times growth during 1990-91

to 2000-01. In second decade of globalization the India's export of agricultural products increased by 4.09 times and imports increased by 4.65 times during 2000-01 to 2010-11. During 1990-91 the

percentage share of agricultural imports to total national imports of India was 2.79 percent it was reached up to 8.17 percent in 1998-99 and it has stood at 3.5 percent in 2010-11.

In 1990-91 the percentage share of agricultural exports to total exports of India was 18.49 percent it has been reached up to the highest of 20.33

percent in 1996-97 and in 2010-11 it stood at 10.47 percent. On an average the percentage share of agricultural imports to total national imports was 4.75 percent during 1990-91 to 2010-11. Whereas the percentage shares of agricultural imports to total national imports was an average 14.80 percent during globalization period.

**Table-3: India's Imports and Exports of Agricultural Commodities**

Year	Agri Imports	National Imports	% to National Imports	Agri exports	National exports	% to National exports
1990-91	1205.86	43170.82	2.79	6012.76	35227.28	18.49
2000-01	12086.23	228306.64	5.29	28657.37	201356.45	14.23
2001-02	16256.61	245199.72	6.63	29728.61	209017.97	14.22
2009-10	59528.34	1363735.55	4.37	89341.33	845533.64	10.57
2010-11	56196.20	1605314.63	3.50	120185.48	1148169.56	10.47

Source: Economic Survey of India, 2011-12

### India's Exports of Principal Agricultural Products

The share of India's agricultural exports in total exports trade (by value) has so far varied between 10.22 percent to 20.33 percent during 1990-91 to 2010-2011, with greater importance being attached to export of processed foods, which brings substantial value-addition in exports. During 2001-02, agricultural products exported from the country stood at more than Rs. 29728 crore in values of which the marine products alone contributed impressive 19.84 percent.

During 2006-07 the highest percentage share of agricultural products to total agricultural products was contributed by marine products at 12.82 percent followed by oil meals 8.82 percent and rice other than basmati 6.80 percent. During 2010-11, marine product contributed as high as 9.61 percent share in total agricultural exports followed by oil meals 9.02 percent, rice basmati 8.80 percent and sugar 8.60 percent. It is observed that the percentage share of principal agricultural products in total agricultural exports was 79.43 percent in 2001-02, 60.80 percent in 2006-07 and 66.09 percent in 2010-11 (Table IV).

**Table -4: Exports of Agricultural Products in India (Value in Rs. Crore)**

Commodity	2001-02		2006-07		2010-11(p)	
	Value	% Agri.Ex	Value	% Agri.Ex	Value	% Agri.Exo
Rice	1842.77	6.20	2792.81	4.47	10581.51	8.80
Wheat	1330.37	4.47	35.35	0.06	0.74	0.00
Tea	1719.22	5.78	1969.51	3.16.	3.174.50	2.64
Coffee	1094.92	3.68	1969.00	3.15	2912.07	2.42
Spices	1496.97	5.04	3157.90	5.06	7870.14	6.55

Cashew	1788.68	6.02	2291.18	3.67	2598.15	2.16
Oil Meals	2262.93	7.61	5504.32	8.82	10845.75	2.33
Guargam	403.09	1.36	1125.79	1.80	2805.75	2.33
Sugar	1728.29	5.81	3127.47	5.01	10339.01	8.60
Meal	1193.28	4.01	3314.03.	5.31	8775.90	7.30
Marine	5898.34	19.84	804.04	12.82	115447.97	9.61
Wood	1524.37	5.13	415.22	0.67	7763.30	6.46
Total	29728.6	100.00	62411.42	100.00	120185.48	100.00

Source: *Economic Survey of India*, 2011-12.

### India's Imports of Principal Agricultural Products

India's agricultural imports on the other hand constitute only a small portion of countries total

imports and is barely about 5.70 percent on an average of the total imports into the country during the period from 1990-91 to 2010-11. The share of India's agricultural imports in total import trade (by value) has varied between 2.71 percent to 8.17 percent during 1990-91 to 2010-11.

**Table -5: India Imports of Agricultural Products (value in Rs. Crore)**

Commodity	2001-02		2006-07		2010-11(p)	
	Value	% Agri.Ex	Value	% Agri.Ex	Value	% Agri.Exo
Pluses	3160.16	19.44	3891.91	13.13	6979.95	12.42
Wheat	0.84	0.01	5850.49	19.74	236.37	0.42
Fruits	756.76	4.66	1913.11	6.45	3684.26	6.56
Spices	503.87	3.10	738.9	2.49	13.58.78	2.42
Vegetables	6464.97	39.77	9539.9	32.19	29442.11	52.39
Cotton	2053.62	12.63	663.07	2.24	604.38	1.08
Wood	2283.87	14.05	4684.35	15.81	7251.27	12.90
Total	16256.61	100.00	29637.86	100.00	56196.20	100.00

Source: *Economic Survey of India*, 2011-12.

During 2010-11 agricultural products imported by the country stood at Rs. 56196.20 crore in value of which vegetable oils contributed impressive 52.39 percent. During 2010-11 the percentage share of wood and wood product in total agricultural imports was 12.90 percent followed by pulses 12.42 percent. The imports of agricultural products into the country mainly comprises of vegetable oil, pluses and wood and wood products, which accounts

77.71 percent of the total agricultural imports in terms of value in 2010-11 (Table V).

### Conclusion

Agriculture has been a way of life and continues to be the single most important livelihood of the masses. India is the second largest economy in Asia after China, as measured in terms of its GDP. High growth rates have significantly reduced poverty in India. However it's GDP per head is still very low (estimated at US\$ 820 in 2006), so it remains

classified by the World Bank as a low income country.

The *World Development Report 2008* states that over one third of the population of India was living below the poverty line in 2004-2005, managing on less than \$1 a day. Agriculture including allied activities, accounted for 14.5 per cent of gross domestic Product at 2004-05 prices, in 2010-11 as compared to 14.7 per cent in 2009-10.

In terms of composition, out of the total share of 14.5 per cent that agriculture and allied sectors had in GDP in 2010-11, agriculture alone accounted for 12.3 per cent. In 2010-11, the value of exports of agricultural products was Rs. 120185.48 crore as against Rs. 28657.37 crore in 2000-01 and Rs. 6012.76 crore in 1990-91.

In the first decade of globalization the exports of agricultural products shows 4.76 times growth and imports shows 10.02 times growth during 1990-91 to 2000-01. In second decade of globalization the India's export of agricultural products International Journal of Humanities and Applied Sciences (IJHAS) Vol. 1, No. 5, 2012 ISSN 2277 – 4386 140 increased by 4.09 times and imports increased by 4.65 times during 2000-01 to 2010-11.

Although India missed the opportunity to open up two decades ago, its attempts to do so now must be regarded as better late than never. Others such as Desai (1999) observe that, "the logic of the global economy as well as India's interests' dictates that India becomes proactive in its liberalization policies. India must liberalize not because it has no choice but because it is the best choice". His lament that India has adopted a 'victim mentality' when it really needs to adopt a 'winner mentality' has become less of a concern as over time, India has shown commitment to stay on the bandwagon of globalization.

Having realized that globalization is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for high growth production, India has undertaken economic reforms, both internal and external. However, it must be ensured that these reforms are synchronized so that the pace

of both reforms is set right in order to work hand in hand to promote agricultural productivity growth. India has successfully set sail on the waters of globalization and economic reforms and even in the wake of economic and political instability, it has to carefully steer its course in order to reap the benefits of increased productivity growth in the agricultural sector.

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# Rural Financial Trends in India

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*[India is a home to 700-million strong rural populations. In recent years many factors such as microfinance products, exemption from income tax, NREGA, mass media penetration, investment in rural infrastructure and the increased production of higher-value crops, disposable incomes in rural households are increasing. These all factors add to a positive scope for business opportunity in rural India.]*

The 2005 World Summit, the 60th High-level Plenary Meeting of the United Nations General Assembly, witnessed gathering of 151 heads of state from around the world. Held in September 2005 at UN headquarters in New York, the Summit was the first opportunity for world leaders to review progress in reaching the MDGs (Millennium Development Goals), whose primary aim is to eradicate extreme poverty by the year 2015.

Microfinance was prominent on the agenda of this historic gathering. The most significant recognition of its importance was made in the 2005 World Summit Outcome Document adopted by the gathering, which states: “We recognize the need for access to financial services, in particular for the poor, including through microfinance and microcredit”.

Support for microfinance was also strongly implied in the endorsement by the Summit of the 2002 Monterey Consensus, which states: “Microfinance and credit for micro, small and medium-sized enterprises, including in rural areas, particularly for women, as well as national savings schemes, are important for enhancing the social and economic impact of the financial sector”.

## Rural Finance

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Rural finance comprises credit, savings and insurance (or insurance substitutes) in rural areas, whether provided through formal or informal mechanisms. The word ‘credit’ tends to be associated with enterprise development, whereas rural finance also includes savings and insurance mechanisms used by the poor to protect and stabilize their families and livelihoods (not just their businesses).

An understanding of rural finance helps explain the livelihood strategies and priorities of the rural poor. Rural finance is important to the poor. The poorest groups spend the highest proportion of their income on food – typically more than 60% and sometimes as much as 90%. Under these circumstances, any drop in earnings, or any additional expenditure (health or funeral costs, for instance) has immediate consequences for family welfare – unless savings or loans can be accessed. Financial transactions are, therefore, an integral part of the livelihood system of the poor.

Rural finance consists of informal and formal sectors. Examples of formal sources of credit include: banks; projects; and contract farmer schemes. Reference is often made to micro-credit. *Micro* underlines the small loan size normally associated with the borrowing requirements of poor rural populations, and micro-credit schemes use specially developed pro-poor lending methodologies.

Rural populations, however, are much more dependent on informal sources of finance (including loans from family and friends, the local moneylender, and rotating or accumulating savings and credit associations).

Rural finance comes in three major forms: microfinance, agricultural finance and rural finance.

**Microfinance:** it includes financial services (savings, credit, payment transfers, insurance) for the poor and low-income people.

**Agricultural finance:** It is a sub-set of rural finance dedicated to financing agriculture-related activities, such as input supply, production, distribution and wholesaling, and marketing.

**Rural finance:** It comprises financial services offered and used in rural areas by farm and non-farm population of all income levels through a variety of formal, informal and semiformal institutional arrangements and diverse type of products and services, such as loans, deposits, insurance, and remittances. Rural finance includes agriculture finance and microfinance and is a sub sector of the larger financial sector..

Financial services for the rural poor are represented by the shaded overlap of microfinance with rural and agricultural finance. It includes financial services for all purposes and from diverse sources tailored to the needs of poor people in rural areas. Providers include both financial institutions, such as banks, credit unions and non-financial mechanisms.

State-owned banks include agricultural development banks, regional development banks, savings banks, and postal banks. Often they have extensive rural networks of branches or outlets. Privatized state banks may also have significant rural outreach, although in many cases the privatization process has reduced rural branch coverage.

**The following problems are faced in rural settings:**

**Dispersed demand** - Due to low levels of economic activity and population density; on the other hand paralleled by larger family sizes and higher population growth rates.

**High information and transaction costs** – It is linked to poor infrastructure (roads, institutional, telecommunications) and lack of client information (no personal identification or functioning asset registries).

**Weak institutional capacity** – It is related to the limited availability of educated and well-trained people in smaller rural communities.

**Crowding-out effect** – It is due to subsidized and/or directed credit from state-owned banks or donor projects.

**Low economy**- The range of income-generating activities and the degree of economic diversification is lower, agriculture predominates, low profitability of economic activities;

**Seasonality** – Because of agricultural activities and long maturation periods for others, resulting in variable demand for savings and credit, uneven cash flow and, lags between loan disbursement and repayments; Farming risks - such as variable rainfall, pests and diseases, price fluctuations, and small farmers' poor access to inputs, advice and (national) markets etc.

**Lack of usable collateral** – it happens due to ill-defined property and land-use rights, costly or lengthy registration procedures, and poorly functioning judicial systems.

It should be noted that these features can vary greatly from one or the other rural area. In some countries absolute poverty may even be more severe in cities. As a result of the above-mentioned constraints, most MFIs have their working area mostly in urban areas. In this situation, the researcher probes further to find the possible avenues for rural finance to develop the people who are residing in rural and around Erode district.

**Sustainable financial institutions require**

- Mobilization of own resources through savings,
- Working through savings based member-owned SHGs operating at low costs
- Serving rural clients engaged in both farm and non-farm activities
- High repayment rates
- Covering costs from operational income

**SWOT of Rural Finance**

### **Strengths**

1. High level of social capital and collateral substitutes.
2. Informal mechanisms used to enforce contracts

### **Weaknesses**

1. assumption that credit is a binding constraint; rural finance is often treated as an equivalent for agricultural credit, which is used as 'input' for agricultural production.
2. subsidized interest rates create market distortions and unsustainable financial services.
3. lack of analysis of true market demand.

### **Opportunities**

1. Increasing demand for agricultural development because of population growth.
2. High demand for financial services in rural areas

### **Threats**

1. Vulnerability: systemic, market, credit risks, etc.
2. Operational: low investment returns, low investment, low asset levels, geographical dispersion.
3. Capacity: infrastructural capacity, technical capacity and training, social exclusion and institutional capacity, etc.
4. Political and regulatory: political and social interference and regulatory framework, export market protection, etc.

The current trends in the growing Indian rural economy present a big business opportunity for banks and help in achieving 100% financial inclusion. In a report titled 'Scaling-up access to finance for India's rural poor,' the World Bank has pointed out that a combination of various factors has affected both banks and their clients. This has driven up costs and hampered access to the poor.

It has also observed that the Government policy has created a 'financial climate' that is not conducive

to lending in general, and to rural banking in particular. The World Bank report further says: "High fiscal deficits, the Government's domination of rural finance institutions, persisting weaknesses in the regulatory and legal framework, and a set of policies towards the sector that have been designed to gain political patronage, have resulted in the distortion of risk/return signals and inefficiencies in the delivery of rural finance services. An outcome of these realities has been a dilution of the credit creating role of rural banks."

Apart from this the spending patterns of the rural consumers are now very much comparable to their urban counterparts. The rural middleclass is growing at a rate of approximately 12% against the urban class at 13%. The growth of the rural markets further adds to this. Various sectors have grown in rural markets. The ever increasing mobile penetration, expanding telecom industry and growing rural FMCG markets lure the firms to now tap this great market.

Media penetration has increased awareness among rural consumers. This has increased their willingness to spend, creating demand for modernized products in place of locally available items. The demand for premium brands has also risen in rural households.

Recently RBI has taken innovative steps which include relaxing the Know Your Customer Norms and opening no frill accounts. The above mentioned development in rural economy along with the RBI's innovative steps will surely help to achieve 100% financial inclusion in India. The study also held RBI's credit planning policy responsible for the plight of rural lending.

The 'service area' policy of RBI, whereby each rural bank branch is given a set of villages within which it can operate, restricts competition in rural banking. The RBI policy not only restricts bank branches from optimizing their infrastructure, but also restricts the entry of new, non-service area bank branches (including private sector bank branches) into the service area.

This is because the entry of non-service area bank branches into the service area requires a no-

objection certificate from the service area branch, which is often not easily forthcoming.

### **Finance for the rural poor**

Millions of people in the developing world's rural areas are poor not because they cannot manage money, but because they have too little of it. While studies show that rural micro-entrepreneurs produce high rates of return on the capital they invest, the problem is they lack access to sufficient funds, which means their aggregate return remains low, thus perpetuating a life in poverty.

A key objective of rural finance is to provide those people with the funds and financial services they need to multiply their earnings and build a more prosperous future. The United Nations International Year of Microcredit 2005 had provided an opportunity for dialogue among financial institutions, development banks, governments and donors on the role and potentials of rural finance - what it can do, who it can reach and why it has still not reached many of the rural poor.

### **New Focus**

In the past, "rural finance" and "agricultural credit" were used interchangeably. Today the focus has broadened: the future of rural poverty alleviation is investment in all aspects of rural development, not only agriculture. More business in rural areas generates the economic incentive to improve infrastructure, which boosts the competitiveness of production.

Efforts to make financial services accessible to poor rural households must overcome several key constraints. First, rural incomes are highly susceptible to systemic risks, such as bad weather and disease, and cyclical and seasonal fluctuations in prices of agricultural commodities.

Finally, there are political and regulatory obstacles. These range from political and social interference - loans can be forgiven, savings withheld, interest rates capped, repayments suspended by decree - to land tenure, banking laws, exchange rate manipulation and tax regulations that destabilize or hinder the viability of business and financial operations in rural areas.

### **Vision for the future**

The importance of rural finance in poverty alleviation and achievement of the Millennium Development Goals means that it will remain a high priority for governments, donors and, of course, rural households. Based on current trends, we can expect major changes in provision of products and services over the next decade.

In countries where microfinance and retail finance institutions have been operating for a long time, there will be increasing consolidation in the sector, and a marked tendency toward full service provision: single loan products and the credit-only services of agricultural banks will be replaced by savings options, remittances and insurance.

Since very few providers can offer efficiently a full set of services, institutions will need to link up with specialized companies (for insurance, leasing, venture capital, etc.) and with "niche" organizations such as NGOs and self-help groups that facilitate their outreach in rural areas. Effective use of financial services will also require stronger ties to training, technology, marketing and business services.

What will these changes mean for the main players in today's rural finance? Credit-focused agricultural and rural development banks are in steady decline, although in some countries they may continue to play an important role. Many NGOs will cease to have a direct role in rural finance provision and will focus instead on capacity building and social issues

### **"Bankable" clients**

The Year of Microcredit has helped dispel the notion that the poor are "irresponsible with money". Indeed, it has confirmed that they are not only "bankable" clients, but a very important and largely untapped financial market. Despite their lack of traditional sources of collateral, micro-entrepreneurs demonstrate that "peer group pressure", as well as self-interest in a lasting source of funds, are usually sufficient to ensure very high repayment rates.

### **Conclusion**

FAO and other development partners stand behind rural and microfinance organizations that wish to make a difference in poverty alleviation, economic

growth and social empowerment. Such partnership requires transparency and accountability, standardization in reporting and shared learning. The vision for the future is one of hope - rural finance and the other tools that make a difference exist and are continually being refined and improved. Together we can make the vision become reality.

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# Child Labour and Constitutional Provisions in India

Gurjeet Singh\*

*[Human rights are necessary for the development of an individual and these rights also make individual's life free from fear, harassment or discrimination because these are concerned with equality and fairness. Under the aegis of the United Nations a comprehensive list of human rights and instruments has been formulated which deal with such issues as refugees women, children, prevention of torture, religious and racial discrimination, genocide, slavery and minorities etc.]*

The most important assets of a nation are its human resources which should be developed into matured human being to enable them to contribute to their own welfare and to mankind as a whole. Children are a precious gift of God to mankind and most precious assets of any nation. They keep the lamp-of-life burning, thus, demand highest priority on national and international front.

Future of our civilization depends upon the way we bring up our children. For the children to grow into adulthood-mentally, physically and morally strong, they have to be ensured of congenial environment and proper shelter, clothing, diet and education. Unless a new vision for a viable human society comes out, our future generations will continue to miss out on the right to develop as full human beings.<sup>1</sup>

Child Labour means the employment of children (5 to 14 years of age) in gainful occupations, which are injurious to their physical, mental, moral and social development. The child labour is, at times, used synonym for 'employed child' or 'working child'. But a working child is one who subjects himself or herself to work, unpaid or free, instead of being at the school at a tender and formative stage of his or her life.<sup>2</sup>

Child labour is a burning problem all over the world, both in developed and developing countries. Child labour is a universal phenomenon and it is a by-product of socio-economic structure of the society. Though several attempts were made and are being made to eradicate/mitigate child labour at national and international levels, yet, the magnitude has been increasing at an alarming rate, particularly in the Third World countries. As much as 90 percent of the child labour is concentrated in the undeveloped countries of the world.<sup>3</sup>

The proportion of child workers to total child population in different regions demonstrates a relatively high percent in South Asia (5.4 percent), Africa (4.0 percent) and Latin America (2.6 percent). When the global picture is seen, ILO estimated it at 248 million, which shows the gravity of problem. Among the countries, India possesses the highest child labour force in the world.<sup>4</sup>

They have no right as workers and they cannot join labour unions to raise their voice against exploitation. The Supreme Court, in one of the cases related to child labour, has observed: if there be no proper growth of children today, the future of the country will be in dark. It is the obligation of every generation to bring up children who will be citizens of tomorrow in a proper way. Today's children will

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be leaders of tomorrow who will hold the country's banner high and maintain the prestige of the nation.

If the government of India commits itself towards combating the problem of child labour, then it is sure that the children of India who at present have engaged themselves in long hours of work could be freed and enabled to breathe joy of freedom.

But today, working condition of child labourers are horrible; children have to work more than 15 hours a day or till their masters are satisfied, without rest which is a complete violation of the Child Labour (P & R) Act, 1986. The child labourers employed by private contractors were paid meager wages and were living like animals in overcrowded slums.<sup>5</sup>

In the case of India, there are sensational variations in data. In the year 2000 the National Census of the Indian government counted 8.4 million child labourers. The Ministry of Labour speaks about 17 million, which would be twice as much. The United Nations (UN) assumes that there are about 100 million child labourers. According to the statistical data of the Nation Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO), which delivers detailed reports every five year since 1972, their number is 84 million.

Another estimate is based on the number of children of school age not attending any school. It assumes that these children work and therefore count as 62 million child labourers. The official statistics exclude huge numbers of children (about 75 million). According to 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001 and 2011 Census, the number of working children accounted for 10.75 million, 13.64 million, 11.28 million, 12.59 and 21.39 million respectively.

Various states in India can be classified in the high, medium and low percentage category of child labour. States like Andhra Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan have high percentage. The states of Kerala, Haryana and Uttaranchal Pradesh have low while the states of Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal, Maharashtra and Punjab fall in the medium percentage category.<sup>6</sup>

The greatest assets of society are the resources of human faculties, on the conservation of which,

depends both its progress and prosperity. The child is the future member of society and the highest welfare and the greatest wealth and the greatest wealth can, therefore, be assured only by the fullest development of the body and the mind of the child. As the child comes into society in a helpless condition and without any responsibility on its part, what is the duty of society toward the child becomes the claim of the child upon society.

It is the right of every child, when grown up, to possess a sound body for the enjoyment of health, to be industrially efficient for earning a decent living and to have sufficient knowledge for the exercise of political rights, for the performance of social duties and for the enjoyment of cultural privileges. There are, therefore, several fundamental claims of the child upon society.

First, the child is entitled to a physically and mentally sound parenthood, or, in other words, to being well-born. Second, the child has claims upon proper and adequate nourishment. This phase of the duty has so far been discharged by parents who are immediately responsible for bringing the child into the world.

Third, the child has the right to vocational training. Formerly, it was a family affair, the son following the occupation of the father. But with the growth of complexity in the modern industrial organisation, the need for industrial training has been fully realized.

Fourth, the child is also entitled to the acquisition of general knowledge and culture. Almost all the countries of the world have acknowledged this primary claim of the child upon the state, and have provided at least elementary education.<sup>7</sup>

Many studies prove that the economic compulsion is the major cause, which compels parents to send their children to work. The prevalence of child labour in India has been greatly accentuated due to the ineffective educational system. Consequently half the population of school age children between 6 and 14 years old is at home or in the streets. Sometimes due to hostile family atmosphere, ill-treatment of parents, aversion to schooling, abandonment by the parents or glamour of city, children migrate to cities on their own.

## Constitutional Provisions

The concern for welfare of the children is reflected through the guidance for states by the different Articles of the Indian Constitution as expounded below:

1. Article 15(3) enables the state to make special provisions for women and children. Women and children require special treatment on account of their very nature. This article empowers the state to make special provisions for them.
2. The Constitution (86th Amendment Act), 2001, proposed a new clause Article 21 (A) after Article 21 of the Constitution which provided – “The State shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of 6 to 14 years in such a manner as the State may, by law determine”.
3. Article 23 prohibits trafficking in human beings and beggar (form of forced labour) and other similar forms of forced labour. “Traffic in human beings” means selling and buying men and women like goods, and it also includes immoral traffic in women and children for depraved or other purposes.  

This Article protects the individual not only against the state but also private citizens. It imposes a positive obligation on the state to take steps to abolish evils of “traffic in human being” and forced labour in all its form wherever they exist. It also prohibits the system of ‘bonded labour’ because it is a form of forced labour within the meaning of this article. In pursuance of this Article, Parliament passed the ‘Suppression of immoral Traffic in Women and Girl Act, 1956’, which prohibited any act related to traffic in human beings. This act is now known as “The Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act, 1956”.
4. Article 24 prohibits employment of children below the age of 14 years in factories and hazardous employment. This provision is certainly in the interest of public health and safety of life of children. This Article, however, does not prohibit their employment in any harmless job or work. In pursuance to the above duty the ‘Employment of Children Act, 1938’, and The Child Labour

(Prohibition and Regulations) Act, 1986, are enacted.

5. Article 39 (e) makes it a duty of the state to prevent the children from entering into jobs unsuited to their age. It seeks to project health and strength of workers and tender age of children and seeks to ensure that they are not forced by economic necessity to enter avocations unsuited to their age or strength.
6. Article 39(f) recommends the protection of childhood and youth against exploitation, moral and material abandonment. It also affirms to make sure that children are given opportunities and facilities to develop in a healthy manner and in conditions of freedom and dignity.
7. The Constitution (86th Amendment) Act, 2002, added a new clause (k) to the Article 51-A of the Constitution. This provided – “Parent or guardian to provide opportunities for education to his child or ward as the care may be between the age of six and fourteen years. Besides the provisions that have been laid down in the above mentioned articles a few others that address the issue about the employment of men and women have some bearing on the problem of child labour as well. For instance:
8. Article 38 (1) provides that the state shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting effectively a social order in which justice- social, economic and political shall inform all the institutions of national life.
9. Article 41 directs the state to ensure the people within the limit of its economic capacity and development: (a) employment, (b) education, and (c) public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement and in other cases of underserved want.
10. Article 42 requires the state to make provisions for securing just human conditions of work and for maternity relief.
11. Article 43 requires the state to try to secure by suitable or economic organisation or in any other way, to all workers, agricultural, industrial or otherwise, a living wage, conditions of work ensuring a decent standard of life and full

enjoyment of leisure and social and cultural opportunities. It refers to a 'living wage' instead of a 'minimum wage'. The concept of living wage includes in addition to the bare necessities of life, such as food, shelter and clothing, provision for education of children and insurance etc.

12. Article 46 directs the state to promote the education and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and in particular of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, and to protect them from social injustice and of all forms of exploitation.
13. Article 47 imposes the duty to raise the standard of living of the people and the improvement of public health.

Although the principle of 'Equal Pay for Equal Work' is not principally declared by our Constitution to be a fundamental right, but it certainly is a constitution goal under Articles 14, 16 and 39 (c) of the Constitution. These provisions and similar others stated in the Constitution have an important bearing on the problem of child labour, i.e. if these guidelines are adhered to in an effective manner then the problem of child labour can be limited to a certain extent.

The predicament of child labour emanates from social and economic crisis and thus, by achieving the constitutional goals, the children in arduous socio-economic conditions can be prevented from entering the labour market.

The fundamental rights such as 'Right to Equality' and 'Right against Exploitation' articulate the well being of children. Moreover, the Constitution (86th Amendment) Act, 2002, Right to Education has been added to the list of fundamental rights. The right to education, being a fundamental right, flows directly from right to life. The right to life and the dignity of an individual cannot be assured unless the right to education accompanies it.

The directive principles of state policy set out aims and objectives to be taken up by the states in the government of the country. The idea of welfare state envisaged by our Constitution can only be achieved if the state endeavours to implement them. The 'Social and Economic Charter' and the 'Social Security Charter' of the directives guarantee the

welfare of children. The fundamental duties embedded in our Constitution also include provisions, which guard the interest of children.

Thus, the Constitution of India presents a clear view that childhood is meant to be spent in schools and not in hazardous work environment. Also, if the constitutional provisions related to the child well-being are read together, they have a potential for laying down very comprehensive guidance for a total elimination of child labour and for protection of children from any form of exploitation.

Thus, a review of the normative framework indicates that the Constitution of India is an extremely powerful instrument against child labour. It defines a clear-cut role for children, through it may not have a fully enforceable base. This helps in directing efforts towards litigation and getting the courts to expand the jurisprudential base available for cases on child labour.

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